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The Southern Friend

Journal of the North Carolina Friends Historical Society

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Introduction to this issue

*"to spend some time as a missionary
among the colored people":*

*The Civil War Writings
of an Indiana Quaker in the South*

EDITED BY DANIEL J. SALEMSON

Book Review:

The Quakers and the American Revolution

ARTHUR J. MEKEEL

Announcement:

*Quaker Historians and Archivists
12th biennial conference*

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The Southern Friend

Journal of the North Carolina Friends Historical Society

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Editorial Policy

The editors welcome articles on any aspect of the history of Friends in the Southeast. Articles must be well written and properly documented. All copy should be typed double-space, and should conform to the most recent edition of *The Chicago Manual of Style* and Kate L. Turabian's *A Manual for Writers of Term Papers, Theses, and Dissertations*. The author-date form of referencing is preferred. See section 15:4ff in *Chicago Manual*. Articles and correspondence should be addressed to Carole E. Treadway, Hege Library, Guilford College, 5800 West Friendly Avenue, Greensboro, NC 27410-4175.

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"Friends' Meeting House at New Garden, North Carolina, 1869. Erected in 1791." Lithograph by John Collins. Courtesy of the Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College.

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Introduction

In the last issue of *The Southern Friend*, Thomas Kennedy of the University of Arkansas, Fayetteville related the story of the rise and decline of a black monthly meeting in Southland, Arkansas near Helena. This was the third article we have published by Kennedy on the work of Friends in establishing and maintaining an orphanage, a school (the Southland College), and a community of freed blacks. A key figure in the early days of that movement was Elkanah Beard, a Friend from Indiana who was called in 1864 to establish an orphanage for dozens of lost or abandoned children.* Beard was familiar with the conditions because of his missionary trip the year before to visit the contraband camps of destitute freed slaves in the Mississippi River Valley. He kept an account of that trip in a journal and made frequent written reports to Friends magazines and his sponsors at home in Indiana.

Elkanah Beard's journal was transferred to the Friends Historical Collection from the Friends Collection at Earlham College several years ago because of its bearing on the Quaker presence in the South. We are, in this issue, presenting excerpts from the journal along with excerpts from Beard's other writings that report on his observations and actions during his trip. Daniel Salemsen has transcribed the journal and uncovered the other material and combined it with the journal excerpts to give more thorough coverage than either source does alone. His introduction to the writings gives important information for understanding the context of Beard's work as well as something about the remarkable life of service of Beard and his wife Irena.

* "The Rise and Decline of a Black Monthly Meeting: Southland, Arkansas, 1864–1925," by Thomas C. Kennedy. *The Southern Friend*. Vol. XIX, no. 2, Autumn 1997. The two previous articles were "Southland College: The Society of Friends and Black Education in Arkansas." Vol. VII, no. 1, Spring 1985; "The Last Days of Southland." Vol. VIII, no. 1, Spring 1986.

“to spend some time as a missionary among the colored people”:

The Civil War Writings of an Indiana Quaker

Edited by

Daniel J. Salemson¹

When Elkanah Beard departed for the Mississippi Valley in June 1863, he inaugurated a Quaker relief effort that would have an impact on the region for more than sixty years. Between 1863 and 1869, Elkanah and his wife Irena labored among the recently freed slaves, providing food and clothing, education, and religious services. The writings of Elkanah Beard during this time offer a rare glimpse into the front lines of a relief effort that nationwide occupied thousands of volunteers and millions of dollars, and into the mind of a man who devoted his life to missionary work.

As reflected in his writings, Elkanah Beard, a lifelong member of the Society of Friends, placed supreme emphasis on religion. Born on October 28, 1833, and reared in the small community of Lynn, Randolph County, Indiana, he was educated in Quaker schools, including Friends Boarding School (now Earlham College) in Richmond, Indiana. Following his 1852 marriage to Irena Johnson, also of Lynn, he considered a number of careers, including law, politics, and teaching, ultimately settling on a mercantile trade. Throughout his youth he maintained an active membership in Cherry Grove (Randolph County) Monthly Meeting of Friends, but his growing missionary impulse did not find an outlet until after the outbreak of the Civil War. When members of New Garden Quarterly Meeting, to which Cherry Grove belonged, began considering the possibility of a relief effort for the large number of slaves liberated by the Union army, Elkanah seized the opportunity. In June 1863, he departed for a six-week tour of refugee camps along the Mississippi River. His formal appointment in October as field agent

Daniel J. Salemson, a graduate student in history at North Carolina State University, is currently completing his masters thesis, “The Quiet in the Storm: North Carolina Quakers in the Civil War Era, 1850–1870.”



Elkanah Beard and Irena Johnson Beard
(Friends Historical Collection)

for Indiana Yearly Meeting's Executive Committee on Freedmen resulted in his recognition as a minister shortly thereafter. When Elkanah and Irena Beard left for the Mississippi Valley at the end of October, in what proved to be a six-year tour of duty, it marked the beginning of a lifetime of missionary work.²

On Independence Day 1863, Confederate commanders at Vicksburg, Mississippi, surrendered the last southern stronghold on the Mississippi River. The entire Mississippi Valley, with a black population estimated at over 700,000, fell under northern control. Over the previous two years, as the northern army advanced down the valley, tens of thousands of slaves had liberated themselves behind Union lines. This crush of humanity quickly threatened to disrupt military operations, as the refugees crowded into makeshift camps and around cities, often living in destitute conditions and suffering tremendous mortality from disease. Union commanders, who at first viewed the “contraband” as a liability, provided limited rations but little else.

With the signing of the final Emancipation Proclamation in January 1863, declaring all slaves in rebel territory to be free, African Americans became an integral part of the northern war effort. Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton quickly ordered all able-bodied ex-slaves taken into the service of the army, either as troops or as laborers. Women, children, and the unfit were to be placed on abandoned plantations. The War Department’s adjutant general, Lorenzo Thomas, hoped to lease the plantations to Northern settlers who, enticed to the region by high cotton prices, would hire the refugees at minimal, government-established wages. The government maintained the refugee camps as points of collection and distribution.³ A Philadelphia Quaker who toured the valley in 1863 described the ongoing “settlement of negroes:”

During the early months of the war, large numbers of fugitive blacks crossed the Ohio and Mississippi, and herded together in the border towns. The President’s Proclamation of Freedom, which had been so anxiously looked for by the friends of humanity, not only stopped this exodus from the slave States into the free, by giving them protection wherever the Federal forces advanced, but also gave birth to a new spirit in the National Government. Although slow to act and not always meeting the demands of the hour, it is now endeavoring to make some compensation for stolen labor and outraged rights. The establishment of camps for the reception of the freedmen was soon seen to be a necessity, and suitable points having been selected on the great river, officers were appointed to have them in charge, and a work began which can end only when the last vestige of slavery has disappeared from the land.⁴

However efficient Thomas’s system may have been in quickly relocating freedmen to new occupations, the government did little for the uplift of those recently escaped from slavery. Across the North, hundreds of aid and relief societies organized to fill the humanitarian need. The bewildering patchwork of benevolent associations provided crucial relief to people who

owned themselves, but often little else. Beginning in 1861, these societies sent supplies—food, clothing, books, and agricultural implements constituted the bulk of the material aid—and teachers to colonies of freedpeople across the South. Most of the larger relief associations eschewed sectarian labels, yet religious principles drove many of the members. Almost every denomination embraced the relief effort, often combining relief aid with missionary work. Some religious groups joined in cooperative efforts through organizations such as the American Missionary Association, which operated on behalf of the Congregational, Free–Will Baptist, Wesleyan Methodist, and Reformed Dutch churches, but a greater number of denominations instituted their own relief services. By 1875, the aid societies had expended over \$7.5 million, employed thousands of field agents, and provided education to more than a half million former slaves. Perhaps more importantly, the public awareness the societies fostered mobilized the resources of the federal government. Between 1865 and 1872, the federal Freedmen’s Bureau defended the rights of African Americans in the uncertain period after the war. In addition to enforcing contracts and mediating disputes between black laborers and their white employers, the Bureau played a significant role in education. It secured government buildings for the use of the aid societies, constructed hundreds of schools from scratch, and established eleven colleges and universities and sixty-one teachers’ colleges for its charges.⁵

For the Society of Friends, the plight of the freedpeople offered a unique opportunity to put rhetoric into action. Quaker doctrine nourished an egalitarian view of humanity unmatched by any other sect. To whatever extent Friends may have fallen short of their own ideals—black membership in the Society was almost nonexistent, for example—their devotion to the rights of African Americans was widely acknowledged by the time of the Civil War. The Society had worked for a peaceful end to slavery and discriminatory laws since the American Revolution. During the antebellum period, individual Friends involved themselves in the Underground Railroad, despite a doctrinal ban on such extra-legal activities. Decades before the Civil War, every yearly meeting established standing committees to provide assistance to blacks within its limits. When war came, Quakers played no small role in the relief effort, quickly organizing and supporting private and official Quaker relief associations.⁶

Indiana Friends felt the pull of the humanitarian prospects the strongest, as the plight of African Americans had shaped the development of Indiana Yearly Meeting. Nearly all members traced their roots to the great exodus

from the southeastern states beginning in the late-eighteenth century. Émigrés to Indiana—Quakers and non-Quakers alike—usually belonged to the lower and middle classes of society, and often moved to escape the economic competition, as well as the moral taint, of slave labor. Between 1800 and 1860, at least six thousand Quakers relocated from the southern states to the Old Northwest, where slavery was prohibited by law. “So great was the movement northward,” historian Jacquelyn Nelson has noted, “that by 1850 one-third of Indiana’s population was composed of first- and second-generation North Carolinians.”⁷

The issue that brought the Society of Friends to Indiana also proved divisive. The rise of abolitionism in the 1830s split the Quaker community. In 1843, approximately two thousand Friends seceded from Indiana Yearly Meeting, which had censured the confrontational tactics of abolitionists, to form the activist Indiana Yearly Meeting of Anti-Slavery Friends in Newport. For more than a decade, the upstart body vigorously denounced slavery and colonization. By the mid 1850s, however, mainstream Quaker doctrine began to move toward the antislavery position and the schism quietly healed.⁸

The acceptance of abolitionist activism reflected larger changes in midwestern Quaker practice during the middle of the nineteenth century. In the late antebellum period, austere Friends found themselves anachronistic in an increasingly commercialized and cosmopolitan North. The high quality of Quaker education, the growth of towns and cities, and the inclusion of the midwestern states into the national economy all stimulated Friends to take a more active part in local and national events. Competition from other denominations also forced Quakers to adopt a more dynamic world view, as the evangelical revolution in the mainstream Protestant churches, with its proletarian preachers and charismatic religious experiences, lured younger members bored with the staid practices of the Society.⁹

The Civil War intensified the transformation within American Quakerism. The secession of the southern states in 1861, and the ensuing conflict, forced many Indiana Friends into a painful confrontation between their historic commitment to pacifism and their political loyalty. “Since most leading evangelical Quakers deeply sympathized with the Union cause and supported the Republican party,” historian Richard Wood has noted, “it was often difficult for them to avoid endorsing the war and for their sons to resist enlistment in the army.” Religion did not always triumph. Over twelve hundred Hoosier members, or more than twenty-six percent of eligible male Friends, volunteered for military service. Individuals provided money and supplies to equip militia units, supported the Indiana Sanitary Commission,

and ministered to sick Union troops and Confederate prisoners. The corporate body of the Friends distributed religious tracts to soldiers and organized relief efforts for Southern refugees and needy families of soldiers.¹⁰

For Quakers who would not fight, relief work among those recently liberated from slavery offered a morally acceptable alternative to further the Union cause. The 1864 revision of Indiana Yearly Meeting's *Discipline*, the set of rules governing almost all aspects of Quaker life, reflected the long tradition of concern for African Americans. The *Discipline* strictly forbade the accommodation of slavery in any manner and exhorted members to work for the emancipation and uplift of the black population:

As a religious Society, we have found it to be our indispensable duty to declare to the world our belief of the repugnancy of slavery to the Christian religion. It therefore remains to be our continued concern, to prohibit our members from holding in bondage our fellow men. . . . The slow progress in the emancipation of this part of the human family, we lament; but nevertheless do not despair of their ultimate enlargement. And we desire that Friends may not suffer the deplorable condition of these, our enslaved fellow beings, to lose its force upon their minds, through the delay which the opposition of interested men may occasion in this work of justice and mercy; but rather be animated to consider, that the longer the opposition remains, the greater is the necessity, on the side of righteousness and benevolence, for our steady perseverance in pleading their cause.¹¹

In late 1862, midwestern Friends began organizing private relief societies for the refugees in the Mississippi basin. The Cincinnati Contraband Relief Association (CCRA) formed in November in the wake of Union military successes along the Mississippi River. While not a Quaker organization *per se*, many of its leaders, including famed abolitionist Levi Coffin, and much of its support came from the Society of Friends; it looked to Quaker meetings around the United States and in England for the majority of its fiscal support. The CCRA also benefited from Cincinnati's proximity to the western theater of the war, serving as the distribution agent for many smaller relief organizations. Over a period of two years, the CCRA expended more than \$150,000 in cash and supplies. In December 1864, in the face of growing duplication of effort, the CCRA disbanded and transferred its assets and relief programs to Indiana Yearly Meeting of Friends.¹²

Indiana Friends did not institute a serious corporate effort on behalf of the freedpeople until 1863.¹³ In October of that year, Indiana Yearly Meeting's "Committee on the Concerns of the People of Color," reported that one of its members had visited the Mississippi Valley and "labored a short time among these poor neglected people." The committee concluded that

taking into consideration the change of circumstances in relation to the colored man in our country since the organization of the committee, and the vast field that is open for labor among those that have recently acquired their freedom, the committee is united in suggesting to the yearly meeting the propriety of taking the whole subject into consideration, and, if way opens, provide either through this or a new committee for more effectual and organized labors for their relief.

The yearly meeting subsequently formed a standing “Executive Committee on Freedmen” to mobilize the resources of Indiana Friends. The young man who had recently visited the Mississippi Valley volunteered to return as the first field agent. In late October, a few days shy of his thirtieth birthday, Elkanah Beard headed south once again.¹⁴

There is no definitive account of the Quaker relief effort along the Mississippi River, but midwestern Friends labored in over thirty camps in Illinois, Kentucky, Tennessee, Arkansas, Louisiana, and Mississippi. Quakers also performed relief work in middle Tennessee and Alabama. Members of Indiana Yearly Meeting provided the bulk of the support, contributing almost \$30,000 in the first year alone. To coordinate its efforts with those of other midwestern Quakers, the Indiana Executive Committee joined with similar committees from Iowa, Ohio, and Western yearly meetings in September 1864, to establish a “Board of Control” at Cincinnati. The Board oversaw the relief work for midwestern Friends, collecting the necessary funds from the Executive Committees and directing resources to the most needy areas. To promote the growing effort, the Indiana Executive Committee began publication of a monthly newspaper, *The Freedmen’s Record*, in December 1865. Between 1863 and 1870, Indiana Quakers contributed over \$150,000 through the Executive Committee to aid the former slaves; the other midwestern yearly meetings expended a similar combined total.¹⁵

Friends focused their energies toward three undertakings: relieve the immediate suffering within the refugee camps, institute a series of schools for the freedpeople, and provide ministerial services for their uplift. Relief aid presented the most immediate challenge. Entering a region still at war, Elkanah Beard found the suffering of black refugees severe. In an age of primitive medical knowledge, with thousands of individuals crowded into marshy areas that often flooded, with almost no sanitation and only primitive shelter, epidemics ran rampant. Scores of people died each month in the camps. Most freedpeople lacked even a change of clothing and lived in filthy makeshift huts that barely sheltered them from the elements.¹⁶

In November 1863, Beard selected the encampment at Young’s Point,

Louisiana, ten miles above Vicksburg, as his main base of operations. The need there, as elsewhere, was overwhelming. Colonel Samuel Thomas, who oversaw the military's efforts for the freedpeople in the Vicksburg and Natchez regions, described Young's Point in 1863 as "a vast charnel house—thousands of the people dying, without well ones enough to inter the dead." For several months, Beard could do little more than distribute clothing to the most needy and offer ministerial comfort to the sick and dying.¹⁷

Slowly, the material aid provided by the relief organizations and the government allowed Elkanah Beard to attend to more long-term needs. The Executive Committee's appointment of James and Sarah Smith to assist Beard at Young's Point freed him to investigate the situation along other parts of the Mississippi. Samuel Shipley, who toured the Mississippi Valley in late 1863 on behalf of the Friends' Association of Philadelphia, noted that after Beard was relieved at Young's Point, "[a]ll the camps will then be visited in succession, and his ability to distribute judiciously will be increased."¹⁸

The pitiful plight of black orphans captured the attention of Friends. In early 1864, Elkanah Beard relayed to the Executive Committee a request from General Napoleon Bonaparte Buford, Union commander at Helena, Arkansas, to establish an "orphan asylum" for the hundreds of children wandering that city. The orphanage, the first in the state, opened on April 19, 1864, and was soon followed by similar institutions at Little Rock, Arkansas, and Lauderdale, Mississippi.¹⁹

Education constituted an important aspect of the Quaker relief effort. Slave education had been a crime in the pre-war South, leaving many of the freedpeople illiterate. Over sixty members of Indiana Yearly Meeting served as teachers during the Civil War. The example of Arkansas suggests the scope of the relief societies' commitment to education in the Mississippi Valley. During the Reconstruction years of 1867 and 1868, the American Missionary Association and Northern Quakers together contributed more than half of the state's entire educational budget; the federal Freedmen's Bureau, by contrast, accounted for just six percent in 1868. Friends maintained a school at the Helena orphanage until early 1866, when the government ordered the buildings returned to their original owners. Rather than see the orphanage and school discontinued, Colonel Charles Bentzoni, the new commandant at Helena, and soldiers of the 56th United States Colored Infantry Regiment purchased thirty acres of land outside of the city and constructed several buildings for a new orphanage. Indiana Yearly Meeting subsequently acquired an additional fifty acres of land, and, with funds from

the Freedmen's Bureau and Quaker organizations, in 1869 transformed the institution into Southland College, a boarding school for blacks. Although hardly a college in the traditional sense, the school combined Christian education with a Normal school curriculum; by 1886, Southland counted more than three hundred graduates teaching in Arkansas and adjacent states. Despite uncertain finances, internal divisions, and local white opposition, Southland continued until 1925, a testament to the Quaker humanitarian ideal.²⁰

The religious development of the freedpeople constituted the final—and for Elkanah Beard, the most important—aspect of the Quaker activities. Samuel Shipley emphasized the importance of religion to the former slaves: “The religious element among the Freedmen is active, in this, the time of their great trial. At most of the camps and in the towns, there is evidence of increased interest in their churches, and the universal testimony is, that it is not a mere sentiment, but works a perceptible effect upon their daily lives.” Historian Thomas Hamm has suggested that most “Quaker workers showed little interest in proselytizing among the former slaves,” instead preferring to focus on “the humanitarian aspects of relief.” Elkanah Beard's writings make clear, however, that religious service played a vital role in his activities. From the outset of his labors in the South, Beard ministered to individuals and conducted camp prayer sessions. He organized at least one permanent non-denominational congregation, the “Union Camp Church” at Young's Point, in December 1863. After the formation of Southland College in 1866, a number of African Americans petitioned for membership in the Society of Friends. Whitewater (Indiana) Monthly Meeting accepted seven black members from Southland in 1868, and the next year established a preparative (subordinate) meeting at the school. The integration of African Americans into the Society continued with the recognition of Daniel Drew, an ex-slave and army veteran, as a minister in 1870. The Southland congregation increased in number until, in 1873, it was granted full monthly meeting status, the first majority-black monthly meeting in the history of the Society of Friends. After reaching a peak membership of around two hundred in the 1890s, the meeting declined until it disbanded with the closing of the school.²¹

By 1870, the Quaker relief effort to the freedpeople was on the wane. With the exception of Southland College, most of the schools and orphanages organized by Friends had been closed or transferred to the state governments. The Indiana Executive Committee received only \$11,000 in contributions that year, less than one-quarter the amount donated five years earlier. Despite its brief existence, the relief effort fundamentally altered orthodox

Quakerism. The work in the southern states had exposed dozens of younger Friends, like the Beards, to the practices of other denominations. Imbued with a missionary spirit, they gained an appreciation for dynamic religion that proved difficult to forget. During the late 1860s and 1870s, as the Quaker missionaries assumed leadership roles in the Society of Friends, they fostered what Thomas Hamm has identified as a revival movement in American Quakerism. Indiana Yearly Meeting acknowledged the importance of the relief work in 1869 when it replaced the Executive Committee on Freedmen with a permanent “Missionary Board” to encourage spiritual activism by Friends.²²

Elkanah and Irena Beard completed their final tour of relief duty in the South in February 1869. They had both felt the stress of missionary life. Elkanah’s health, delicate since childhood, forced him to take several extended sabbaticals. Guerrilla attacks, which claimed the lives of scores of freedpeople and at least two northern whites, forced him to move his operations on several occasions. The changing nature of the relief effort also proved less satisfying over time. The drama of the work in the camps in 1863 and 1864 gave way to less exciting but more fundamental tasks, such as coordinating relief shipments and superintending the orphanages. Elkanah’s appointment as general agent for the Mississippi Valley for the Friends’ Board of Control in 1864 significantly increased his workload, forcing him to spend more time on administrative duties and less preaching. By early 1866, Elkanah confided to his diary that “I feel that I do not amount to much anywhere,” and that he had become “nothing more than lackey boy or servant” to the teachers he supervised.²³

Despite the hardships, the work in the Mississippi Valley prepared Elkanah and Irena Beard for a lifetime of missionary adventure. In 1869, they departed for two years of educational service around Benares, India. They later engaged in a series of extended visits among the pioneer Quaker communities on the west coast of the United States and spent a year working with Native Americans in Oklahoma in 1877. During the late 1880s, they returned to the Mississippi Valley to assume the positions of superintendent and matron of Southland College. Ill health forced Elkanah to retire in 1891. He died on August 2, 1905, at Biloxi, Mississippi, in the land that had defined his life’s work. Irena Beard survived him by fifteen years, passing away in Lynn, Indiana, on July 29, 1920.²⁴

The writings that follow are drawn from a number of sources. The diaries of Elkanah Beard deposited at the Friends Historical Collection, Hege Library, Guilford College, Greensboro, North Carolina (cited as “Elkanah

Beard Journal, FHC–GC”), and the Quaker Collection, Lilly Library, Earlham College, Richmond, Indiana (cited as “Elkanah Beard Diary, FC–EC”) comprise the bulk of the material. The remainder consists of printed letters that appeared in the Quaker publications *Friends’ Review* (Philadelphia) and *The Freedmen’s Record* (Richmond, IN) and in the *Report of Indiana Yearly Meeting’s Executive Committee for the Relief of Colored Freedmen* (Richmond, IN: Holloway & Davis, 1864) (cited as Indiana Executive Committee, *Report*). The reader should keep in mind that the printed writings usually doubled as fundraising appeals and as such may not be as candid as Elkanah’s private thoughts.

Clearly a man of considerable education, Elkanah Beard wrote well, with legible penmanship and generally correct spelling. Usually writing in hurried conditions or after a long day of labors, he often dispensed with standardized punctuation and capitalization in his diaries. To provide consistency, this transcription capitalizes the first letter of every sentence and includes standardized punctuation, regardless of Beard’s practice. The emendation “[sic]” marks the transcription only where the error might be ascribed to the editor. Beard frequently wrote “to” for “too.” The error has been left without comment.

With the exception of dates, abbreviations in the text (“ere,” “oer,” “recve,” “recvd,” “&,” “&c.”) have been silently expanded. Orthodox Quaker practice eschewed the use of the common names, derived from pagan origins, of the days of the week and months of the year. The transcription retains Beard’s dating system (number of the month, number of the day and year) in view of its essential religious nature. The full name of the month and the year are added in brackets where Beard failed to record his own version.

Where Beard wrote a word twice by accident (i.e.: over a page break), the transcription records the word only one time. Those deliberately split (“any thing,” “inso much” “break fast”) are transcribed as written, but words split across line or page breaks are transcribed as one word. Words lost in the original due to smearing of the ink are noted in brackets; words deliberately scratched out are omitted silently from the transcription.

The transcription omits sections of Beard’s diary that add little to the understanding of his experiences, or discuss activities not related to his work in the Mississippi Valley. A series of three bracketed ellipses, [. . .], denote text that has been removed within an entry. Five stars, ***** , indicate that one or more entries has been omitted.

Notes

¹The editor would like to thank Carole Edgerton Treadway, librarian of the Friends Historical Collection, Hege Library, Guilford College, Greensboro, North Carolina, and Dr. Thomas D. Hamm, curator of the Friends Collection, Lilly Library, Earlham College, Richmond, Indiana, for their assistance in identifying material and verifying facts related to Elkanah Beard. Dr. John David Smith of North Carolina State University, Raleigh, kindly critiqued a draft of this introduction.

An earlier version of this paper was presented at the 1996 Graduate Conference on Southern History at the University of Mississippi, Oxford.

²Cherry Grove Monthly Meeting of Friends, Birth and Death Records (Microfilm F472(b)2, Indiana Historical Society, Indianapolis), 21, 181; Willard Heiss, ed., *Abstracts of the Records of the Society of Friends in Indiana* (7 vols. Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1965), 2: 227, 258; "Data from the Elkanah Beard Bible," (Typescript, Beard Collection [FMS 33], Friends Collection, Earlham College); Luke Woodard, "A Short Sketch Concerning the Late Elkanah Beard," *The American Friend*, 12 #11 (March 16, 1905): 182–183; Earlham College, *Souvenir of Friends' Boarding School* (Richmond, IN: Nicholson Printing & Mfg. Co., 1897), 45.

Elkanah's first diary entry, not transcribed here, traces his personal history up to 1857 or 1858. He belonged to a family with deep Quaker roots. The Beard family had been among the earliest Quaker settlers in America, emigrating from England to Massachusetts in the 1670s, and moving to North Carolina fifty years later. Elkanah's father, William, migrated to Indiana in 1827. Elkanah was related to famed American historian, Charles Beard.

Cherry Grove Monthly Meeting "acknowledged" Beard as a minister on October 10, 1863. Cherry Grove Monthly Meeting of Friends, Men's Minute Book III (Microfilm F472(b)2, Indiana Historical Society, Indianapolis), 431. Orthodox Quaker doctrine rejected the use of paid clergy, insisting that the divine spirit could be manifested in all persons. The Society routinely conferred the honorary title of "minister" on members who exhibited particular religious dedication. The designation connoted no real duties within the sect. See Indiana Yearly Meeting, *The Discipline of the Society of Friends of Indiana Yearly Meeting*, (Richmond, IN: E. Morgan & Sons, Print., 1864), 96–103, for a description of the qualifications and obligations of recognized ministers.

³ Louis S. Gerteis, *From Contraband to Freedman: Federal Policy Toward Southern Blacks, 1861–1865*, Contributions in American History, No. 29 (Westport, CN: Greenwood Press, 1973), 119–133; Martha Mitchell Bigelow, “Freedmen of the Mississippi Valley, 1862–1865,” *Civil War History* 8 #1 (March 1962): 38–44; John Eaton, *Grant, Lincoln and the Freedmen* (New York: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1907), 18–61. Of the more than 186,000 African Americans who served in the Union army, approximately 80,000 came from the Mississippi Valley. Bigelow, “Freedmen of the Mississippi Valley,” 43.

⁴ Friends’ Association of Philadelphia, *Statistics of the . . . Friends’ Association of Philadelphia, and its Vicinity, for the Relief of the Colored Freedmen*. (Philadelphia: Inquirer Printing Office, [1864?]), 9.

⁵ Ronald E. Butchart, *Northern Schools, Southern Blacks, and Reconstruction: Freedmen’s Education, 1862–1875*, Contributions in American History, No. 87 (Westport, CN: Greenwood Press, 1980), 3–12; G. K. Eggleston, “The Work of Relief Societies During the Civil War,” *Journal of Negro History* 14 #3 (July 1929): 272–299; Julius H. Parmelee, “Freedmen’s Aid Societies, 1861–1871,” United States Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education, *Bulletin* No. 38 (1916): 268–301; George R. Bentley, *A History of the Freedmen’s Bureau* (New York: Octagon Books, 1974 [1944]), 136–184.

⁶ Thomas E. Drake, *Quakers and Slavery in America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950), 85–166; Eggleston, “The Work of Relief Societies,” 286–289; Francis Charles Anscombe, “The Contributions of the Quakers to the Reconstruction of the Southern States” (Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina, 1926), passim. Ronald E. Butchart identified eight separate Quaker organizations sponsored by New England, New York, Philadelphia (2), Indiana, Iowa, Ohio, and Western yearly meetings. Butchart, *Northern Schools*, 7.

⁷ Charles Fitzgerald McKiever, *Slavery and the Emigration of North Carolina Friends* (Murfreesboro, NC: Johnson Publishing Co., 1970), 44–54; Jacquelyn Nelson, *Indiana Quakers Confront the Civil War* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1991), 3.

⁸ *ibid.*, 4–5; Thomas D. Hamm, *The Transformation of American Quakerism: Orthodox Friends, 1800–1907* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988), 32–33.

⁹ Richard E. Wood, “Evangelical Quaker Acculturation in the Upper Mississippi Valley,” *Quaker History*, 76 #2 (Fall 1987): 128–134; Hamm, *The Transformation of American Quakerism*, 36–66.

¹⁰Wood, "Evangelical Quaker Acculturation," 138; Nelson, *Indiana Quakers Confront the Civil War*, 20–21, 59–73.

¹¹Indiana Yearly Meeting, *Discipline*, 48–49.

¹²In January, 1863, a faction desiring greater emphasis on education for the freedpeople split from the CCRA to form the Western Freedmen's Aid Commission. This new organization did not retain its Quaker orientation—although many Friends supported its efforts—quickly falling under the control of evangelical ministers and establishing an affiliation with the nondenominational American Missionary Association. Joseph E. Holliday, "Freedmen's Aid Societies in Cincinnati, 1862–1870," *Bulletin of the Cincinnati Historical Society* 22 #3 (July 1964): 169–185.

¹³In 1862, Indiana Yearly Meeting forwarded \$100 to Friends in Kansas to relieve former slaves moving into that area from Missouri and other slave states. Indiana Yearly Meeting, *Minutes of Indiana Yearly Meeting of Friends*, 1862 (Cincinnati: E. Morgan and Sons, 1862), 32 (hereinafter cited as Indiana Yearly Meeting, *Minutes*).

¹⁴Indiana Yearly Meeting, *Minutes*, 1863, 27–29, 49–50; Indiana Yearly Meeting, *Report of Indiana Yearly Meeting's Executive Committee for the Relief of Colored Freedmen* (Richmond, IN: Holloway & Davis, 1864), 4–5 (hereinafter cited as Indiana Yearly Meeting, *Report*). At the 1863 Yearly Meeting, Elkanah Beard served on the committee that established the Executive Committee on Freedmen.

¹⁵Linda B. Selleck, *Gentle Invaders: Quaker Women Educators and Racial Issues During the Civil War and Reconstruction* (Richmond, IN: Friends United Press, 1995); "Minute Book of Board of Control for Freedmen's Relief Committees of the Ohio, Indiana, Iowa, and Western Yearly Meetings of Orthodox Friends, 9 mo. 1864 to 5 mo. 1867," (MS, Friends Collection, Earlham College) (hereinafter cited as Board of Control, "Minute Book"). Financial data compiled from the reports of the Executive Committees contained in the respective printed yearly meeting minutes, 1863–1870. Charles Anscombe places the total figure around \$350,000, although the veracity of his information is unclear. Anscombe, "Contributions of the Quakers," 182.

An incomplete file of *The Freedmen's Record* (Richmond, IN), 1865–1866, can be found in the Friends Collection at Earlham College. The New-England Freedmen's Aid Society (Boston) published a journal with the same title between 1865–1874.

For firsthand accounts of the work of Indiana Quakers in Tennessee and Cairo, Illinois, see Frank R. Levstik, ed., "A Journey among the Contrabands: The Diary of Walter Totten Carpenter," *Indiana Magazine of History*, 73 #3 (Sept. 1977), 204–222; Elizabeth Nicholson, "A Contraband Camp," *Indiana History Bulletin* 1 #11–12 (Sept. 1924): 131–140; and Martha N. Lindley, "Reminiscences," *ibid.*, 140–143.

Eastern Friends, who directed most of their energies toward the southeastern states, also contributed material aid to the work along the Mississippi. For a discussion of the activities of eastern Friends, see Youra Qualls, "'Successors of Woolman and Benezet': The Beginnings of the Philadelphia Friends Freedmen's Association," *Bulletin of Friends Historical Association*, 45 #2 (Autumn 1956): 82–104; Henrietta Stratton Jaquette, "Friends' Association of Philadelphia for the Aid and Elevation of the Freedmen," *ibid.*, 46 #2 (Autumn 1957): 67–83; and Richard L. Morton, "'Contraband' and Quakers in the Virginia Peninsula, 1862–1869," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 69 (1953): 419–429.

¹⁶For an overview of the health care crisis faced by freedpeople along the Mississippi Valley, see Randy Finley, "In War's Wake: Health Care and Arkansas Freedmen, 1863–1868," *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 51 #2 (Summer 1992): 135–163; and Marshall Scott Legan, "Disease and the Freedmen in Mississippi during Reconstruction," *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 28 (1973): 257–267.

¹⁷John Eaton, *Report of the General Superintendent of Freedmen, Department of the Tennessee and the State of Arkansas for 1864* (Memphis, TN: n.p., 1865), 10.

¹⁸Friends' Association of Philadelphia, *Statistics*, 17–18.

¹⁹Anscombe, "Contributions of the Quakers," 174; Indiana Yearly Meeting, *Minutes*, 1864, 19; *ibid.*, 1865, 42; Indiana Yearly Meeting, *History of Southland College* (Richmond, IN: The Nicholson Press, 1906), 9. Elkanah Beard supervised the orphanage at Lauderdale, Mississippi, from 1867 until its transfer to the Freedmen's Bureau the next year.

²⁰Randy Finley, *From Slavery to Uncertain Freedom: The Freedmen's Bureau in Arkansas, 1865–1869* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1996), 127; Thomas C. Kennedy, "Southland College: The Society of Friends and Black Education in Arkansas," *Arkansas Historical Quarterly*, 43 #3 (Autumn 1983): 206–237; Indiana Yearly Meeting, *History of Southland College*, 10–14. Elkanah and Irena Beard assumed control of the school between 1886 and 1888, and 1889 and 1891. In 1921, Indiana Yearly

Meeting named a scholarship fund in their honor. Kennedy, "Southland College," 236–237.

²¹ Friends' Association of Philadelphia, *Statistics*, 22–23. Hamm includes Elkanah and Irena Beard among the group of Friends who expressed an active interest in converting freedpeople to Christianity, if not to the Society itself. Hamm, *The Transformation of American Quakerism*, 69–71; Indiana Yearly Meeting, *Minutes*, 1865, 22–23; Thomas C. Kennedy, "The Rise and Decline of a Black Monthly Meeting: Southland, Arkansas, 1864–1925," *Arkansas Historical Quarterly*, 50 #2 (Summer 1991): 115–139.

²² Hamm, *The Transformation of American Quakerism*, 74–97; Indiana Yearly Meeting, *Minutes*, 1869, 60–61.

²³ Board of Control, "Minute Book," entry for 10th mo. 13, 1864; Elkanah Beard Journal, 1862–1867 (MS 484, Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College), entries for 1st mo. 1, and 2nd. mo. 20, 1866.

²⁴ Woodard, "Short Sketch," 182–183; "Irena S. Beard," *The American Friend* 27 #37 (9th mo. 9, 1920): 831; Heiss, *Abstracts*, 2: 227; Marjorie Sykes, *Quakers in India: A Forgotten Century* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1980), 55–59. An account of the Beards' stay in the United Kingdom before leaving for India appeared in the Quaker magazine *Herald of Peace* (Chicago, Ill.) 3 #11 (7th mo. 1, 1869): 146, and 4 #1 (8th mo. 1, 1869): 10. The Quaker publication *Christian Worker* published a number of Elkanah's letters from India during 1871.

The Civil War Writings of Elkanah Beard

[Elkanah Beard Journal, FHC–GC]

Lynn Indiana

2nd Mo 14th 1862¹

At home.

My mind having been unusually impressed for several months, and from some cause I hope not entirely selfish, I have felt induced to take in this form a few notes of what I conceive to be the working of the Holy Spirit upon me. Not with any desire or expectation that they will be published but rather for my future reference. [. . .]

Being now in my 24th year I find the mercantile business in which I am engaged does not admit of my giving as much time to reading, meditation and secret prayer as would be best, and often feeling deep remorse of conscience for having so much neglected that for which I was created, I have resolved to quit the business for a while so soon as practicable [. . .].

* * * * *

6th mo. 1st 1863

Having been under a religious engagement of mind for several months, to spend some time as a missionary among the colored people encamped on or near the Mississippi River who have been lately liberated from Slavery by the Presidents proclamation,² I have concluded to lay the matter before my friends for their consideration at our next monthly meeting³ at which there will be a committee appointed at our last quarterly meeting⁴ to consider the propriety of our engaging to work among this people for their social, moral, and religious improvement.

I feel very much cast down under the weight of the concern it being so momentous and my abilities the poorest of the poor who are called to labor in the vineyard, but believing my present and future happiness depends upon

my faithfulness to Him who calleth all men into repentance I endeavor in fear and trembling to submit to His call.

6th mo 16th [1863]

Having obtained the concurrence of and proper certificates from friends to visit the encampments of colored people in the southwest I purpose setting out early to morrow morning. [. . .]

Memphis Tenn
First day eve.

6th mo. 21st [1863]

Arrived at this place at 7 o'clock last night.

To day I have visited Holly Springs [Mississippi] encampment of colored people. At 3 o'clock by my request there was a large number of them convened together in a meeting capacity and were very orderly and attentive and they gladly heard the word which I had to communicate. A favored time it was, many were tendered to tears and some of the more noisy shouted louder than was pleasant to me. [. . .] I am now at Chaplain Fiskes⁵ in Memphis he is sub commander of the camps here.

My way thus far has been more pleasant than I expected when leaving home for which I desire to return devout thanks unto God.

[June] 23rd [1863]

Today and yesterday I have went from tent to tent and cabin to cabin with my Bible in my hand reading and endeavoring to explain to poor ignorant colored women and children the way of life and salvation. They have some knowledge of scripture and often boast one to another that they have heard "Massa or missus read in de Book dat God lubs de black folks if dey minds what deys told to do" etc. etc. [. . .]

Helena Arkansas
First day eve.

6th mo 28th 1863

[. . .] At half past eight the bell tolled for Sabbath school (to meet at nine.) The Superintendant, S. Sawyer⁶ kindly furnished me a horse to ride two and a half miles to the Camp in order to attend it. There were one hundred people of color present, who listened very attentively to the reading of the second chapter of Luke and the remarks of the Teacher. After which I talked to them in such way as I thought would be most likely to win their attendance of the Sabbath School.

At half past ten the meeting for worship began, some 200 present.

Ch. mo 1st 1863

Having been under a religious
engagement of mind for several
months, to spend some time as
a missionary among the colored
people encamped on or near the
Mississippi river who have been
lately liberated from slavery by
the President's proclamation, I
have concluded to lay the matter
before my friends for their con-
sideration at our next mo. mee.
at which there will be a com-
mittee appointed of our last year-
ly mee. to consider the propriety
of our engaging to work among
this people for their social, moral,
and religious improvement—

I feel very much cast down
under the weight of the concern
it being so momentous and
my abilities the poorest of the
poor who are called to labor in
the vineyard— but believing

The services were conducted by the Chaplain in charge, [. . .] which he handled to the admiration and instruction of most present. I was earnestly solicited to speak, but not feeling a call thereunto I declined.

As the audience were being dismissed I requested a meeting for worship at half past two.

At the time appointed five to six hundred turned out to hear what strange doctrine a quaker would preach (for it was noised through the camp that I was of that persuasion.) I spoke from the text men do not gather grapes from thorns nor figs of thistles and the great necessity of our living soberly, righteously and Godly, which made an impression I trust that will not soon be forgotten by many present, and in alluding to the boundless love and mercy of our Father in Heaven the briny tear trickled from the eyes of a large portion of the audience, and as with the voice of one man the shout of glory reverberated to the breeze an echo not soon to be forgotten by me. [. . .]

After meeting I visited several in their families in a social way and returned to my lodging with a thankful heart, afresh encouraged to move on in my line of apprehended duty.

[June] 29th [1863]

Today visited the colored school consisting of 120 children who have been in attendance for four weeks past. None of them knew the alphabet when they entered school, and now of this number 28 can read and nearly all spell easy lessons and the greater part of them are well behaved and take a pride in going clean and try to render themselves conspicuous in some way, and are greatly delighted when applauded therefor. From the interest they manifest at school I presume they will make full as rapid progress as any children under similar circumstances.

About 40 sing spiritual hymns in a very devotional manner and when asked readily answered what the sins are most attendant on child hood and youth with more firmness than many who have attended schools for several sessions.

Teachers and other necessary help having been detailed from the army sufficient to run the different camps here containing some 1400 souls nearly all of whom are women and children who are tolerably well clothed and in pretty good health I think it best for me to return to Memphis the first opportunity.

Being desirous to preserve a record of remarkable piety and prayerfulness under very adverse circumstances I here introduce a narrative of Abram

Brown with whom I had a very pleasant interview at Camp Beech Grove near Helena Arkansas, on first day [Sunday] 28th of 6th mo. 1863.

Uncle Abram as he is called was born in Virginia in the year 1790. His first Master was very kind to him but became involved in debt, consequently his slaves were put upon the auction block and sold to the highest bidder. Abram being (24 years of age) of a strong robust make and in good health was bought by a speculator in human flesh who chained him in a gang previously bought and drove them to west Tennessee [*sic*], where he was sold to a cotton planter by the name of Brown a member of the Methodist church and owner of extensive plantations and about 100 negroes.

His new owner made great pretensions of religion and contributed largely to the support of the church and was regular in his devotional exercises at home or abroad, yet for all this he was a cruel, hard hearted, tyrant as the sequence will show ere the tale of barbarity is fully related.

The new home to Abram was no ways congenial to his mind although he was allowed free intercourse and association with the other slaves on the plantation. This favor he obtained by always attending strictly to the orders given without muttering or complaining so as to be heard and having his task done in good time.

But all the while was speculating in his mind how to render himself more comfortable and although his master encouraged him to licentiousness with any of the colored women he chose, he says "I kept myself entirely free from that sin, not that I had a regard for the laws of God or the welfare of my soul, but secretly felt that I wanted no children to trouble my head about who would without doubt be sold at the age of 10 or 12 and shipped south."

"I hated the religion of the Slaveholder and was disgusted at Masters prayers which I often heard cause he told us we had no souls and that the prayers of a black man never went higher than the bray of a mule."

When about 30 he had liberty to go to a camp meeting in the neighborhood with the family where he became awakened and convinced that there was a religion for the black man as well as those of a lighter hue which soon brought a change and the Master observing Abram to look melancholy and sad feared lest he had caught a spark of light from the ministry which would render him less useful as a slave and resolved that he should attend meetings for worship no more and again told his slaves how preposterous it was for them to assume to be religious or even to attempt to call on the name of so high a God as he who made heaven and earth, that was the privilege of white men only to do their homage and the black mans highest attainment was to obey his

masters orders and do him reverence.

For all this that spark in Abrams bosom had kindled to a flame and at the midnight hour his soul being filled with celestial fire he rose from his humble cot to magnify the name of Jesus for giving him an evidence that his sins were forgiven and says he "before I gotten up off dese knees I prayed to de good Lod dat he might bless de colored people ebery where and free um from all dere sins and from dere yoke o bondage" etc.

In thus giving vent to his feelings his voice aroused the tyrant from his would be patriarchal slumbers, so when the morning came he called all his slaves up and eulogized his kindness to them and how happy they might be if they would always take his advice, "but Abe you black rascal you made such a noise last night that you waked me up. Ill make an example of your prayers," and at once ordered him stripped and tied to receive 250 lashes for trying to pray and asking the Lord to set them free from their bondage. All the while the overseer and master was applying the whip poor Abram never opened his mouth but bore it all with fortitude not a groan or murmur escaping his lips.

After this he never dared to open his mouth in vocal prayer but daily drew near unto God in the secret of the soul and occasionally slipped away to unfrequented places in the woods and told Jesus all the longings of his soul and he says "I allers went monty hungry out dere but de blessed Jesus fill me soul brim full fore I come away."

Soon after the flogging he married but his wife not proving what he hoped a chaste and virtuous woman she soon left him and took up with another man and he has remained single ever since.

He was treated very kindly by his master until the spring of 1859. When they all moved to Mississippi, Abram having now reached his 69th year, his head all silvered over with gray, and his vision grown dim he was permitted to dwell in a cabin to himself and was put to basket making which trade he learned of nights when a boy and having become quite proficient in the art. The Master ordered a market basket made for his wife, which was soon offered up in extra neat order and Uncle Abram expected some praise for such a nice job as all his fellow servants called it. But Oh! how soon our expectations perish specially if we are looking for them from ungodly professors who claim the right to chattelize, buy, and sell human beings. On the morning after the basket was complete he who had long been accustomed to kneel and ask the blessing of Almighty God came to the cabin door and called for the basket. Uncle Abram now in his three score and tenth year

reached him the basket which was closely scanned and turned over and over and over again and no defect found save one little split on the bottom was sticking out near 1/2 an inch for which he called the poor old yet faithful servant to account.

"Massa," says he, "Ise gotten old and me eyes is failen so, dat I didnt see it." Well says the unmerciful tyrant, "I've been watching for a chance to give you a whippen for a long time come you old nigger strip your clothes."

So soon as he was in a state of nudity he was tied over a log, and the master with cowhide gave him forty lashes, whereupon Abram exclaimed, "O, Lod hab mussy on me a sinner." At this the indignation of the master was raised to a higher pitch and calling for assistance the lash was plied with great tenacity and at every stroke the blood gushed forth from the deep gashes (which are not filled up to this day, but plainly show that it is no tale of fiction) till the score was three hundred. No sooner was the lash stopped than the tremulous voice of Uncle Abram again cried "Lod pitty me and hab mussy on massa do he hab none on poor me."

Here now belched forth from the crater of one of Satans Volcanoes although a professor of the christian name "You damned, infernal fool I tell you to pray to me and not think or say a word about God." Uncle Abram full of confidence and hope replied "O, de blessed God hears me and knows I loves him and dat Ise tried to serve you well as I could."

The other slaves now persuaded him to pray massa to forgive him for calling on the Lord for says they "he'll kill you if you dont." But Abrams faith was not [to] be shaken in this way, he had received to many blessings at the hand of the Lord in answer to prayer to recant his trust or allegiance, which the master perceiving ordered another hundred lashes to be given him and took a seat near by to keep tally. The number soon being complete, before the thongs could be untied which held the lacerated veteran to the log he spake with a weak yet firm voice "Bless de Lod O my soul." And then turning his eyes to his master said "Now massa Ise prayed God all de time yous had me beaten to forgib you all your sins and I specs to keeps o prayen and praisen de blessed Jesus long as I lives."

Abram being to weak to walk or stand was carried to the house washed in salt and water, greased and rolled up in a blanket where he lay several weeks almost entirely helpless. [...]

The foregoing account of Uncle Abram was vouched for by several who were present and seen it all and I have no doubt of the correctness of his story.

I asked him several questions a part of them I will note.

How should we worship God? "Dat gud buk say God am a Sperit an all dat woships him does it in de Sperit and in de trufe too."

Is it right then for us in our own will to set a time to preach or pray?

"I guesses not, do its monty fashernable now days for peeples to be prayen long and bery loud, makes me think o dem firasees dat Christ said only pertended."

Are they not past redemption who buy and sell human beings and would if it were in their power forever crush down the colored man?

"Spec some of em is but God hab mity big store o mercy and lets heap folks pent jist fore dey dies."

Well, are we to pray for them who treat us so cruelly?

"Christ say so, an I bleve he knowed, and den wat makes me tink so, I neber felt no happier dan wen I could in trufe pray for my baddest enemy."

Presidents Island near Memphis Tennesee

7th mo 9 1863

Have been engaged here since the 1st of this month endeavoring to instil into the minds of old and young the precepts of the gospel by passing from one tent to another, introducing myself in a social friendly way first, then propose reading a short portion of Scripture and follow it by such remarks and suggestions as seem most profitable for their consideration.

Whilst engaged in this manner I have often been instructed myself and the earnest attention given by nearly all has cheered my drooping mind oftentimes when I have been almost persuaded to flee as Jonah from the work called for at my hands.

Often when leaving the tent door I have observed the briny tear trickle from the eyes of aged mothers and the earnest "tank you" and "God bless you" from many cannot easily be effaced from my memory.

Thou only Heavenly Father knowest how poor and destitute I feel whilst mingling with Africas down trodden race far from my family and friends [. . .].

7th mo 14th 1863

Soon after making my last entry I was taken very ill with fever and discharged considerable blood which has in six days reduced my weight thirty lbs. and am now so weak and nervous that walking across the house is attended with much difficulty. The fever appears to have abated last night.

[July] 16th [1863]

This morning took a little walk up the street and am much fatigued on my return, but hope soon to be able to render myself useful to the colored people again.

[July] 17th [1863]

The atmosphere very damp and cool. My bodily strength returns very slow and I fear I shall not be able to do much soon in missionary labor. It is very tiresome and unpleasant to be confined here [. . .].

[July] 18th [1863]

This morning rainy and the prospect gloomy for camp labor. [. . .]

[July] 19th [1863]

First day. Cloudy and damp but crossed over to the Island,⁷ attended two prayer meetings one to good satisfaction the other more sail than ballast.

[July] 22nd [1863]

I find myself too feeble to stay on the Island and have returned to Memphis and engaged a passage to Vicksburg Miss. on the Steamer *Luminary* which is to sail tomorrow.

It has been with reluctance that I have yielded to the impulse of what I apprehend to be the direction of the Heavenly Guide, on account of my poor health. [. . .]

Vicksburg Miss.

7th mo 26th [1863]

First day. We arrived here last night about 12 o'clock and it has rained nearly all day, and there being no place in town where lodging can be had I have remained on the boat long as the day has seemed.

I have endeavored (although surrounded by gamblers whose oaths and obscene conversation has been disgusting) to draw near unto the Lord in secret prayer. Have said in my heart O that I had some where to go that I might be free from the croakings of the drunkard.

This has been the most trying day of my life [. . .].

[July] 27th [1863]

This morning feel very different, the clouds have all disappeared. With a clear sky and easy conscience I leave this boat and get in another that runs to the contraband camps. [. . .]

Arrived at Youngs Point Louisiana at 11 o'clock where I find a little over 9000 colored people, nearly all women and children, many of the latter have no clothing of any description, and but few in this large camp that have a change of raiment, hundreds have no tents. Hence disease and death is progressing at a fearful rate, thirty to sixty die daily.

In mingling with them I find but few who are willing to return to their former Masters.

I passed to and fro among them until five o'clock, being weary I sat down in the shade of an elm tree to rest. Soon however felt it right to send notice that I would like to see as many as could come in half an hour, near the time five to 600 gathered in the shade of the tree after a short pause I addressed them, to some length on the various duties which devolve upon mankind and before taking my seat enlarged on the matchless love of God toward us, etc.

They all seemed very much interested and the greater part of the audience shed tears when I bid them an affectionate farewell.

After dark a few gathered on the levee to sing and pray, supposing all had come that would I slipped unobserved near to the place and when the singing was ended one of their company (an old man) prayed [. .].

So soon as the prayer was ended I walked to the group, nearly all were seated on the ground. I noticed several got up and started off in a hurry and wondered why it was one brought me a chair and in a few minutes several hundred were gathered and all eyes seemed fixed on me, for a short time all were still, then an aged mother broke the solemn stilness with a trembling yet melodious voice. [. .] After the singing of this hymn all were again still. The silence was soon followed by another hymn and prayer then all were hushed again evidently expecting that I would speak, but two other hymns and intervals of silence passed before I arose, and then spake from the passage "according to your faith be it unto you" after which I retired feeling thankful that I had been present.

[July] 28th [1863]

Today I have visited near one hundred families and with few exceptions there are one or more at each family or group that are very sick. 38 were buried to day and the miasma that raises from the graves is so obnoxious that I could not pass through it. So soon as one dies the body is lapped or tied up in a piece of blanket or tent cloth, placed in a cart and halled to the long ditch which is three feet wide and four deep and are thrown in by the burial squad with very little ceremony or concern.

When the ditch or grave is about half full they are covered over with sand about 18 inches deep. In this manner several hundred of these unfortunate beings have been buried. Could they be properly cared for I am confident not more than one tenth as many would sicken and die.

Very hard storm of wind and some rain late this evening, a large number of the tents were torn all to pieces and the fragments of clothing of many were blown into the river.

I have endeavored to counsel and advise them to the best of my knowledge for their help and encouragement.

One poor sick man sent for me to come and see him, when I came to him he grasped my hand for a long time [. . .].

Whilst my lot is cast with this people I desire to keep very watchful and humble, that my example may correspond [*sic*] with the precepts which I have given, and withal may show forth a tender christian spirit in all things. [. . .]

8th mo. 1st 1863.

Since my last entry I have visited Goodriches landing and Pawpaw Island. In these two camps there are about 2300 refugees from Slavery nearly all women and children. In the former camp they have plenty to eat and are well supplied with clothing and the greater part have pretty good shelters. Quite a large number have the small pox, it has not proved very fatal.

In the other camp there is much discontent and a great amount of suffering, for instance here under a tent all tattered and torn is a mother lying on a piece of blanket spread on the ground with a burning fever of five weeks standing without any medical aid, the two eldest children in the mean time have been carried by the burial squad to the destined home of all living. A husband who administered to the wants of his loving family, in the interim dies of camp diarrhoea, thus the mother is stripped of all her family except a prattling babe of two years old, which is no stranger to hunger and covered with filth and vermin, works its way round as best it can to the tents near by crying for bread, the poor mother weeps at the sound thereof but in vain for she can hardly turn her emaciated body much less sallie forth in quest of food, but in all the agonies of soul which fills a mothers bosom cries, "O Lord have mercy pity the poor chile."

I proceed a little further and turn to the left to discover from whence comes that piercing groan of sorrow which salutes my ear, and under a thick cluster of bushes is a man of some 50 years prostrate upon the damp soil of Paw Paw Island, poor fellow, he is to far gone to hope for any relief, save the

consolatory prospect of a speedy termination of life. Having lain for five long days without a morsel of bread, or a drop of water to cool the inflammation which is fast hastening its victim to a close of sorrow and suffering here. He asks no assistance of the astonished beholder but with a countenance now serene begs for mercy, and strength to bear it to the end without murmuring.

Journeying on a few paces my attention is turned to a man lying apparently lifeless at the base of a large cottonwood, a thin blanket for a bed, the spur root for a pillow both legs off a little below the knees. I stand by his side trying to ascertain whether life is extinct or no, in a few moments I perceive a quivering of the lips, a griping of the bowels forces the utterance of a broken sentence "de Lod hab pity."

8th mo 3rd [1863]

In taking a retrospect of the few days Ive spent in Vicksburg and vicinity, I feel that I have done but little toward ameliorating the condition of the unfortunate colored people, but am fully assured that I was welcomed and held in high esteem by them, and hope that some of the seed sown may bring forth much fruit. And now on my way to Memphis [. . .].

8th mo 5th [1863]

Am now seated alone in the City of Memphis Tenn. and enjoy the treat very much, after spending two weeks among soldiers and boatmen on the river and hundreds of contrabands by land with no rest by day and but little by night. I do not remember the time I ever was more anxious to be seated quietly alone to meditate and soliloquize with myself and draw near unto the Lord in the solemn silence of all flesh. [. . .]

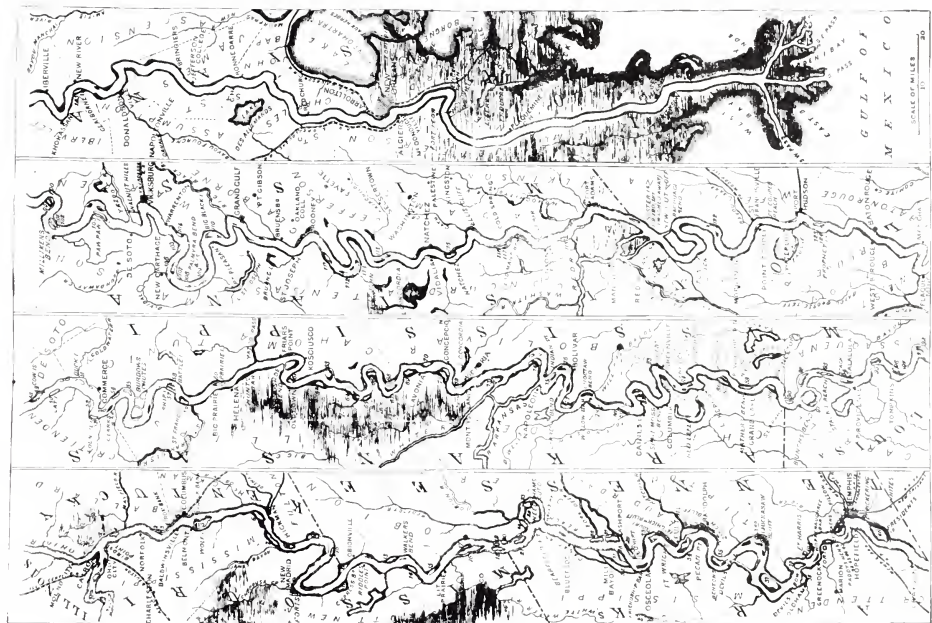
My future prospects indeed seems [*sic*] shrouded in darkness. What the labor of tomorrow I know not, but have a feint hope that as my day so shall my strength be.

8th mo 6th [1863]

Having passed a sleepless night and one of deep serious thoughtfulness and prayer to know what way to proceed, [. . .] I feel that I may return home with the reward of peace, Joy, and thanks giving to the most high God.

P.M. Have engaged my fare to Cincinnati Ohio on board the steamer *Lady Jackson*.

Mississippi River



THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER FROM ITS MOUTH TO CALAIS SHOWING NEW ORLEANS, MEMPHIS, AND ST. LOUIS, WITH VARIOUS PLACES, AND THE RIVERS, ETC.

THIS MAP WAS ORIGINALLY PUBLISHED IN HARPER'S WEEKLY, MAY 10, 1862

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The Civil War Writings of an Indiana Quaker

[Lynn, Indiana]

9th mo 1st [1863]

Since my arrival home my health has been very poor but is now improving.

* * * * *

[In early October 1863, Elkanah Beard volunteered to return to the Mississippi Valley as the first field agent for the Executive Committee on Freedmen, following its establishment by Indiana Yearly Meeting. Irena agreed to join her husband in the missionary field.⁸]

[October] 21st [1863]

The few days spent with our dear relatives and acquaintance has been highly satisfactory and we have been comforted in mingling together. We now bid them adieu in much love and start for Vicksburg and other points where freedmen are encamped in order to minister to their many necessities.

11th mo 1st [1863]

My wife, L. Bond⁹ and myself visited Presidents Island. We attended two meetings for worship in one of which I was largely engaged in ministry to the poor colored people. [. . .]

[November] 7th [1863]

Arrived at Vicksburg in usual health.

[Indiana Executive Committee, Report, 20–21]

Vicksburg, Miss.

11th mo. 12th, 1863

We shall locate at Young's Point, ten miles by river above this place, it being the largest encampment of colored people on the river. No missionaries or school teachers have been stationed there. It would be very agreeable to us, and I think profitable to the freedmen [. . .] to send another female Teacher, immediately.

[Elkanah Beard Journal, FHC–GC]

[November] 14th [1863]

The week past has been very irksome and tedious, no way having opened for us to get settled.

[November] 15th [1863]

This morning arrived at Youngs Point where we purpose [*sic*] making our home and strive to elevate a down trodden people.

[*Friends' Review* 17 #16 (12th mo. 19, 1863): 250–251]

Young's Point, Miss.

11th mo. 16th 1863

[. . .] Being detained at Memphis two days, we availed ourselves of the privilege of visiting President's Island. From the energy of those in charge a great improvement has been made in the condition of the freed people at that place since I was there last summer.

Through the kindness of Major Wm. Sargeant,¹⁰ we were furnished transportation from Memphis to Vicksburg on the steamer *South Western*.

A number of boats were fired into by guerrillas¹¹ on their way down; — some of their passengers were killed and several wounded; but our crew, in an entirely defenceless condition as to outward weapons, passed unharmed.

At Helena there is a large number of colored people under the charge of Page Tyler, a Missionary sent out by the African Methodist church¹² of Illinois. Many of these, since the raid of Price,¹³ have been in a very destitute, suffering condition; their houses, bedding and clothes were burnt, and very little has been given them since. With tears in their eyes they begged me to return soon and render them some assistance.

There are about ten thousand in the different camps near Vicksburg, many of whom are in a very destitute condition.

This camp, Young's Point, is said to have three thousand in it, scattered along the river for nearly three miles. [. . .]

We have yet nothing but a tent to lie in, but hope soon to have better accommodations.¹⁴

The colored people are willing to do anything for us they can; and many of them, in their broken way, at family worship, pray specially in our behalf.

There are full three hundred here that wish to go to school, but we cannot accommodate more than half that number. We have the promise of another school house soon, and then we hope to accommodate all who wish to come.

We have been accredited by Adj. Gen. Thomas,¹⁵ as Government Employees, and are therefore entitled to such rations as soldiers have here. Vegetables are scarce and very high.

Through the kindness of Col. Eaton,¹⁶ I have been furnished with an order of transportation on any steamboat or railroad, good for six months, subsistence included. This was unexpected to me, as I had not said a word about any such thing to them. Although there are some 25 other Missionaries in and around Vicksburg, I presume none have been treated with more respect than we have been by those in authority. [. . .]

[Elkanah Beard Journal, FHC–GC]

[Young's Point, Miss.]

11th mo 28th 1863

Two weeks past have lived in a tent and lay on the ground considerable of the time.

Have now got a house put up in which we hope to enjoy ourselves much better.

[Indiana Executive Committee, *Report*, 22–24]

Youngs point

11th mo. 30th 1863

We have visited nearly all the families in this camp, and find more destitution than I expected; and generally, those who have the most are the greatest beggars. In order to reach the most destitute cases first, we are issuing tickets to be presented as soon as suitable clothing arrives. I called a meeting for Orphan children last first day week at 3 o'clock; and, although but two hours' notice was given, over one hundred, under fifteen years of age gathered around our tent. I seated them on some plank and read to them passages of scripture, relative to the duties of children, talked to them some and asked them various questions, and a more attentive, eager audience I never witnessed. A great many of these poor children have to prepare their own food, and do their own washing; but few of them realize that they have a friend in the world, and they suffer extremely nights and mornings from the cold. Oh! friends, how long the time seems ere we can clothe the naked and relieve the destitute in this vicinity.

Col Thomas,¹⁷ sent us a few boxes of clothing from the Chicago Sanitary Commission,¹⁸ which we have distributed among the most destitute. I presume you are not aware how much labor it requires to fit us up for the duties devolving upon us. Since our arrival I have build a house 14 ft. by 18 ft. for us to winter in, and we are now living in it. I have also had a log house put up and fitted for a school room, large enough to accomodate 100 scholars, and will use it as a meeting house also. Much of the labor has been done with my own hands. We opened school on the 1st day of this month. Eighty-five in attendance varying in ages from 6 to 40 years.

I have had three interviews with the colored preachers in camp and talked freely to them of the propriety of organizing a "Union Camp Church." They all heartily approved of the proposition, and on next first day we design giving an invitation to all the professors of religion in camp to have their names enrolled as members of the same. You may think this rather officious in me, but to use the expression of one of them, "We is now all scattered

around just like old chuncks in a deadnen and de sooner we are geddered up de more fruit will grow on de same ground, and if we is bunched up in de love of God, when his spirit sets us a fire, we'll make such a big light dat de sinners will tremble, and de devil run." [. . .]

We are enjoying very good health, but often feel very lonely, and sometimes labor under great discouragement, yet we have abundant cause for thankfulness. A large number of freedmen give thanks to God daily in consequence of our locating amongst them, and pray for our preservation. [. . .]

I shall try to have another school house put up next week for the orphan children who are daily asking, "Mr. is you goin to hab a school for us, we's got no fadder nor mudder an wants to learn, we do jus like you say to get to go to school." You can hardly imagine how their eyes sparkle when we tell them that we intend to have school for them as soon as we can. They would much rather go to school than to have new clothes, needy as they are. [. . .]

[Elkanah Beard Journal, FHC-GC]

12th mo 1st [1863]

This morning commenced school for the children (E Bond teaches) which was very large and interesting.

My wife and I have much to do in clothing those who are almost naked and tend on the sick.

[Indiana Executive Committee, *Report*, 24-26]

Youngspoint

12th mo. 6th, 1863

[. . .] I have visited all the camps on the river from Vicksburg to Skipper's Landing, a distance of over 100 miles, and do not find much suffering except at Paw Paw Island, where there are about 1000 in a very destitute condition, who deserve the charity of the friends of suffering humanity.

From being too thinly clad, a great many are taking pneumonia and other diseases, and yesterday and last night, being very cold, I fear several have been almost chilled to death. Oh! how distressing to see feeble invalid women, begging for *any thing* that would add to their comfort, in breaking the cold piercing winds of winter from their already emaciated limbs, and no way to help!

A few days ago, I told three men I would pay fifty cents a cord for all the wood they could cut, and in less than 24 hours I had nearly fifty applications. I told them all to go to work, and I would pay them every two weeks. Col.

Samuel Thomas furnishes me the money for that purpose whenever I call for it. A great many have cut wood for contractors, and have been shamefully cheated out of their just dues; consequently they have to a great extent lost confidence in those who wish to employ them.

I very much dislike offering a premium for idleness and all the other vices connected therewith, and, unless otherwise instructed [. . .], shall charge all something for their clothing that are able to pay.¹⁹

A missionary, his wife and three children, (the oldest, 8 years of age,) in passing from here to Natchez on a boat, were fired into by guerrillas; the woman was instantly killed, and the man mortally wounded; leaving the poor children helpless orphans. They were from Iowa.

[*Friends' Review* 17 #21 (1st mo. 23, 1864): 323–324]

Memphis, Tennessee

12th mo. 24, 1863

I [. . .] am now in reception of the box and bale of blankets, which I shall take to Vicksburg on the first government steamer passing that way. These goods with many others that have just come into my hands, will be received by hundreds of poor women and children as a good gift indeed.

I have very recently visited the encampments between here and Vicksburg, (twelve in all) containing about 26,000 freed people; nearly one-half of this number are doing tolerably well, all things considered. The others are suffering in various ways, and thousands have not a change of raiment, and no bed clothing, and are compelled to quarter in old tents that shield them very little from the cold rains or piercing winds of winter. And from exposure they cannot avoid pneumonia. Small-pox and other diseases incident to camp life are on the increase, and more fatal. There are several thousands in the camps that I have not visited, in the interior of Arkansas, that are more destitute, if reports are true, than any on the river. From a lack of clothing or goods to be made up, a vast number that are convalescent, will, beyond doubt, be chilled to death.

Schools have been organized in nearly all the camps on or near the river, which are largely attended, and most of the pupils are making rapid progress in learning.

At Young's Point, where I am located, there are near three thousand, a portion of whom I have supplied with clothing heretofore received, but many are still very destitute.

As a distributing agent I shall pass from one point to another, and endeavor to supply the most suffering cases first. There are a great many

seamstresses among these poor people, and my wife takes charge of cutting and making new goods that may be sent, into garments; in this way several have agreeable and useful employment, and many others might have if we had the material. Stocking yarn and knitting needles are very much needed.

I have in my care over one hundred orphan children that ought to be knitting, and many of them begged me to furnish them, but as yet I have not been able. I hope some kind friend will make the necessary donation. [. . .]

[Elkanah Beard Journal, FHC–GC]

[Young's Point, La.]

[December] 25th [1863]

Many of the Freedmen being professors of religion and having belonged to various societies, I drew up some rules and declarations of faith which were deliberately considered by them and adopted.²⁰

147 had their names registered as members of the "Union Camp Church."²¹ We meet twice on the Sabbath and once in the week to worship God. Our thus coming together has not been in vain, many mouths have been opened to declare the goodness of God, marked changes for the better are being produced, a large number have asked an interest in the prayers of the Church and several have requested to be joined in membership.

1st mo 1st 1864

Our health good, but much worn with toil. To day have clothed several hundred who were almost naked. L. B. Jenkins²² and M. E. Pinkham arrived to day as teachers to [the] Freedmen. We were glad to make them welcome.

Seventeen have been added to our little Church. Oh! that our light may shine as a City on a hill.

[Indiana Executive Committee, Report, 26–27]

[Young's Point, La.]

1st mo. 3rd, 1864

[. . .] I would by no means boast of our success, but through the mercy of our Heavenly Father, we have won the confidence and admiration of many who thought it impossible to establish any thing like order or system in the most degraded camp in the Mississippi Valley. [. . .]

The books, slates and pencils, brought by L. B. Jenkins and Mary E. Pinkham, infused new life into the camp [. . .].

[Friends' Review 17 #23 (2nd mo. 6, 1864): 362–363]

Vicksburg, Miss.

1st mo. 8th, 1864

The Civil War Writings of an Indiana Quaker

[. . .] I have recently visited nearly all the encampments of colored people, situate near the Mississippi river north of Vicksburg. Truly their condition is deplorable [. . .]. There are a few in most of the camps that have, with a little assistance, made themselves quite comfortable, and are jubilant with expectation of a bright future, in which they desire to show themselves worthy of the priceless boon of freedom, and are now good examples of industry, honesty and morality.

Arrangements have been made at Young's Point and some other places, that all may work and receive wages, and in this way they are enabled, and in part compelled by necessity to work, in order to obtain the goods and clothing which they so very much stand in need of. I am aware that many of the contributors in the North are adverse to selling anything to those who are so destitute, but from experience I have found giving to all indiscriminately has a very deleterious effect on the working portion of the colored people. If we feed, clothe and instruct all gratuitously, there is no inducement for any to work. I like to give to those who cannot help themselves, but there are many of the most destitute who have money to buy with, and no opportunity whatever to buy, except through the disbursing agents of Relief Associations. For these, and many other reasons, I approve of selling to some and giving to others.²³ [. . .]

The majority of these people are poorly housed, or not sheltered at all, from the cold rains and winds which are incident to this latitude at this season of the year, and several in a week past have frozen to death, and others were so chilled that they are not likely to survive long. The few clothes that they could carry, in their hurried march from the plantations, are such as, if better could be had, should be thrown aside as entirely useless.

There are many hundreds of women and children who are barefoot, with nothing but cotton clothes, which have been worn for months, and from their extreme poverty are the victims of fell disease [. . .]. I can say from personal observation, that hundreds have died from exposure which they could in nowise avoid.

Small-pox, fevers, and other diseases incident to camp-life are becoming more prevalent and more fatal. [. . .]

There are two schools in successful operation at Young's Point, and another will commence next Second-day [Monday]. The aggregate attendance will be near three hundred; about fifty have learned to read, and, through the kindness of Samuel R. Shipley of Philadelphia,²⁴ who paid us a very acceptable visit a few days since, we expect an ample supply of books,

slates, copy books, etc. All are anxious to learn, and are progressing remarkably well, and I presume there are no schools in the North in which the pupils are learning faster. Colonels Thomas and Eaton, General Superintendents of Freedmen in this department, are energetic men, and are doing all they can for the relief of the destitute, and have treated us very kindly. [. . .]

If some Friend would send me one dozen large print Bibles, they would be highly prized by certain aged colored people who can read and have made application for them.

[Indiana Executive Committee, *Report*, 27–28]

Paw Paw Island

1st mo. 14th, 1864

My dear wife and I arrived here yesterday, and have been very busily engaged since in supplying the people. Some of whom were the most wretched and miserable human beings I ever met with, and I hope it may never be my lot to examine such tents and hovels again. I will instance a few cases: One widow with a boy and girl, were living in a pole pen, and their entire furniture and clothing consisted of one broken skillet, one blanket for the three; the boy, thin cotton pants and shirt; the other two cotton skirt and dress each. In another similar hut, was an orphan boy and girl of 10 and 12 years; clothing, the same as the others, but no blanket. I pass on a little further and find two men in the same kind of a house, one of whom has been sick with diarrhoea for months, and not able to help himself, with but one blanket, feet and hands frozen a few nights since, and were now much swollen and very painful. The other had two old blankets; feet and ankles so swollen that he could not walk. In the next house were two widow women, quite infirm and as destitute of clothing as the first case noticed, but had three blankets. In the same house was a blind man, both legs off below the knee, with no bed or bedding of any description. When I gave this man his outfit, his heart was too full for utterance. He made a bow, and as he walked away on his knees, tears of gratitude rolled down his furrowed cheeks.

With a little variation I might mention many other cases, but these may suffice.

* * * * *

2nd mo. 1st, 1864

Our meetings are held regularly, and are largely attended. Fifty members have removed since our organization, and forty-four have been added, and I presume others will come in soon. Nearly all that have removed wish to be back again, in order to have the advantages of meeting and schools.

The Civil War Writings of an Indiana Quaker

There is considerable sickness in this camp, and I fear the smallpox will not abate soon, as we have no hospitals to send those to, who have contagious diseases. The Box of medicines [. . .] supplied by express was received on the 19th, and the calls for purgatives and quinine are very frequent, and the supply will not last long. A number of cases have been relieved, and I hope many more will be, by this well timed donation.

We are furnished by the Western Sanitary Commission,²⁵ St. Louis, cough medicines and nice soda crackers for the sick and for our own use.

The order has been rescinded for the removal of this camp, and I am assured that the greater part of the freed-people will remain here the present season, and I have made arrangements with the general Superintendent for one hundred acres of land for a garden to be worked by certain colored people for their own benefit. [. . .]

I have received of Col. Thomas \$404.75, and paid it to the colored people for chopping and hauling wood.

There has been a general stampede from all the camps near the river between here and Helena, in consequence of the removal of all military protection. The different places will be re-occupied again in a few days. Many of the poor women and children have been frightened nearly to death, and a few have been caught by the guerrillas, shamefully beaten, and turned loose by them entirely naked, and, with blood flowing from their lacerated backs, they have found protection under the reach of gunboats that are stationed along the river.

2nd mo. 19th, 1864

[...] I am quite weary and heavy laden. Sometimes feel like shrinking from the responsibilities that seem to devolve upon me, at this place, besides the many urgent solicitations to pay visits to other points for the purpose of assisting in the formation or organization of home farms for the aged and infirm, and orphans under twelve years of age.

I am making preparations for dividing several hundred acres of land amongst the freedmen of this camp for them to till the present season, and I presume a considerable portion will be planted in Cotton. I was very loath to take charge of their labor, present and future, but seeing very little prospect of any one rendering them any assistance in that way, I have undertaken it with the full approbation of the Authorities, here, and there is not less than 2000 acres subject to my disposal. And I might say [...] that the Agent who was here from Washington desired that I should take the over-

sight of near 10,000 acres purposely for the colored people; but the work was too gigantic for one so small as I; although the general superintendents of freedmen agreed to do all they possibly could to assist me in the enterprise.²⁶

I hope through the blessing of an All-wise Creator, to show the Slave Oligarchy of the surrounding country here that the negro can and will work without a driver, or a cowhide incentive to action.

True, if the river should overflow its banks here as it often does it will thwart our movements very much. The poor people are very much elated with the prospect before them (that it those whom I have assigned to this work,) and I have faith to believe the most of them will show themselves men.

[. . .] The schools have fallen off in numbers since the removal of many who are hired to lessees, but are still interesting. [. . .]

I have paid the colored people in this camp in the past week for labor, mostly wood-chopping near six hundred dollars.

[. . .] Gen. Sherman²⁷ has in his expedition through Miss.,²⁸ brought into the Union lines 8,000 people, who are reported to be the most destitute of any that have ever been liberated from slavery. 1500 of these poor people are likely to be landed at or near Young's Point, and will have to get their supply of clothing from us. [. . .] But it is now probable that foraging parties will, in the course of a few weeks, bring in several thousand more; what we will do with them I cannot foresee. [. . .]

[Elkanah Beard Journal, FHC-GC]

3rd mo. 2nd [1864]

Since my last notes were taken we have labored very hard in every practicable way for the benefit of our people, in which we feel much peace. Being much worn and feeble my dear I[rena] S. B[eard] and self have engaged transportation to Helena, hoping to recruit up a little. J & S. Smith²⁹ staying with the girls in our absence. Weather warm and pleasant. Peach trees look cheering, are in full bloom. [. . .]

* * * * *

[Indiana Executive Committee, , 32-33]

3rd mo. 4th, 1864

This morning, I visited two Steamers crowded full of women and children who were brought in by Sherman's expedition. A portion of them sat as if in melancholly; many were laughing and talking in great glee as if all was well, whilst others were crying as if their hearts would break. Thus crowded

together, the weak and sickly ones are exposed to great inconvenience and are often objects of ridicule and imposition by those who are able and should bear the infirmities of the weak. These poor women and helpless children were yesterday driven on the boat at the point of the bayonet. Leaving behind fathers, husbands and brothers, who were capable of performing military service. Thus separated, to many the parting was sad indeed, and to increase their anguish they were to be landed at Davis' Bend, 30 miles below Vicksburg with but little to eat, scarcely any clothing but filthy rags, no bedding to rest their wearied limbs upon, no shelter from the approaching storms, and no one to whom they could apply for assistance, with any assurance that it would be granted. [. . .]

[. . .] It is not only pitiable but heartrending, and many times tears have gushed from my eyes at beholding their wretched condition, and hearing their simple, yet solemn and impressive prayers.

Two poor women were so anxious to stay with their husbands that they jumped overboard, hoping to swim ashore; one succeeded, the other sank to rise no more.

Our Boat has now stopped to wood 110 miles above Vicksburg on the Louisiana shore, where are about 300 Negroes who have fled from their homes and taken refuge on the bank of the river, under cover of gunboats that lie near by. Their miserable hovels have no doors, floors, chimneys or windows, and they cannot get subsistence except as they chance to buy a few articles of steamers that stop here to wood. Some have actually starved to death and a number are now sick of smallpox, with nothing to eat, and no prospect of getting provision soon.

I asked them what they were going to do, "O we'll do de bes we kin; rudder stay here dan go back to de hills," meaning the old plantations.

[Elkanah Beard Journal, FHC-GC]

[March] 6th [1864]

A beautiful Sabbath. Our boat makes slow time up river. [. . .]

[Indiana Executive Committee, *Report*, 33]

Helena, Arkansas

[March] 7th [1864]

Here we find according to the camp master's report, some six hundred who have not a change of clothing, and some whom my wife visited, were quite naked, and no doubt from accounts, there has been suffering here the past winter, horrible to relate.

General Buford³⁰ and wife are stationed here, and have a deep interest in the welfare of these poor people. In an especial manner they are giving attention to the orphans under 12 years of age, and desire that an asylum may be established immediately under the care of Friends, for their instruction. Major Sargeant, the General Superintendent of Freedmen in the State of Arkansas,³¹ appears to be fully acquainted with the wants of these people, and as far as is in his power administers to their present and prospective necessities. My wife and I found a very pleasant home in his family during our stay at Helena.

[Elkanah Beard Journal, FHC-GC]

[March] 8th [1864]

Have examined into wants of Freedmen here and find many Orphan children uncared for. Those in authority urge me to go north and make arrangement for furnishing an Asylum³² which I have concluded to do. [. . .]

[March] 10th [1864]

On Steamer *C. E. Vilman* bound for Cairo [Illinois]. Large list of passengers.

The dance kept up until a late hour. Card playing all night. The Saloon a continued throng at all hours. No religious element discernible. I retire to my berth and in secret pray.

[March] 12th [1864]

Arrive at Cairo, Ill. Wrote a note to my wife who returned to Youngs Point from Helena. [. . .]

[March] 18th [1864]

Met with Executive Committee. They fully approve of opening Orphan Asylum at Helena and engage the services of C. Clark and wife³³ and S. S. Horney³⁴ to proceed at once to take charge there of³⁵

[March] 21th [1864]

Having succeeded in my mission home [. . .] I now bid all adieu again for my distant field of labor with a thankful heart believing the Lord has and will continue to bless us in the work we are engaged.

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[Indiana Executive Committee, *Report*, 31]

Helena, Arkansas

3rd mo. [25], 1864

I arrived here this morning, have had a pleasant interview with General Buford and wife, they treated me with great courtesy, and desired that I make my home with them while here.

They are delighted indeed with the prospect that Friends will be stationed here, and they will do all they can to build up a reputable Asylum.

The house designed for that purpose will be ready I presume on the arrival of Calvin Clark and his associates; but should it not, they will be made welcome at the soldier's home.

It is desirable to have a large bathing tub and plenty of towel crash, in order that the children may be scrubbed often.

[Elkanah Beard Journal, FHC-GC]

[March] 27th [1864]

[. . .] Meeting for worship on bow of the Boat with soldiers, some were attentive, but most seemed careless. [. . .]

[March] 28 [1864]

Got to Vicksburg. Irena very sick, had been for several days, other members of our family in usual health and doing well.

[March] 30 & 31st [1864]

Issued rations to several hundred persons. Many have had but little to eat for several days. My wife improving.

[Indiana Executive Committee, *Report*, 33-34]

"Freedmen's Home," Madison Parish, La.³⁶

4th mo. 1st, 1864

No doubt you will be greatly surprised at the sudden return of our fellow-workers. I can assure you that I regret very much to give them up, especially at this period; but dangers seen and unseen, are crowding thick and fast around us, insomuch that our lives are threatened.

I have no doubt that certain men have bound themselves with the strongest oaths to take my life [. . .].

We are all fully persuaded that it is best to abandon the schools, and James, Sarah and Lizzie, feel that it is best for them to return home. [. . .]

[Elkanah Beard Journal, FHC–GC]

4th mo 7th [1864]

To day moved our goods etc 2 miles west of Vicksburg.

Our House situate[d] on the levee a much pleasanter place than where we have been located. The greater part of the freedmen have through various causes moved from Youngs Point nigher Vicksburg. Guerilla [*sic*] parties have been making sad havoc near here for several days, and my life has been threatened. [. . .]

[April] 10th [1864]

This morning early we were aroused from our slumber by the cry of a colored man hallooing at the top of his voice “Mr. Beard the Rebels is a cumin deys up to your old home. Dey had me but I got way, out run em jist to tell you deys a cummin.”

“Dey cotch our Doctor an hole heap o black folks.” After break fast I rode up to the old homestead. The mauraders had captured 40 head of horses 28 colored people (mostly children) Our dear Dr Fanestock³⁷ and a union man Lessee of an abandoned plantation.

P. M. This evening a woman that was a captive got in. She made some effort to escape from the “Hell Hounds” but was caught Knocked down and left for dead 7 miles from here, her face and neck is cut and bruised badly.

They had killed two colored men and boasted much on glutting their vengeance fully when they returned and got Mr. Beard.

[April] 11th [1864]

Five more have reached camp, nearly starved not having had anything to eat for two days and nights. They say our Dr and Lessee were murdered. Oh! God preserve me from falling into the hands of such bloodthirsty villains. Those associated with us in the work of elevating this people returned this evening, having taken a few days respite in visiting Davis Bend³⁸ (a place of much note it being the former Home of Jeff. Davis.) Now called Freedmens Paradise.³⁹ We were glad to meet and again commend our work and the keeping of souls unto Him who hath thus far preserved us from all harm.

Some of our colored men went out in search of the bodies, that rumor said were killed and returned this evening bringing the remains of Dr. Fahenstock (a noble man) and Cathcart⁴⁰ who will be interred tomorrow.

As I gazed on these lifeless forms now smouldering into earth and

The Civil War Writings of an Indiana Quaker

knowing that my life was threatened in like manner my feelings were intense. Indeed my heart almost failed me. [. . .]

4th mo 24 [1863]

To day has been a beautiful Sabbath. Our health good. Meeting large. The Gospel freely preached. Whilst we rejoice in these and feel grateful to God for the many favors we enjoy it has been our lot [to] witness one of the most heartrending scenes imaginable. A family torn all to pieces from the explosion of a Bomb Shell. The one attempting to open it was literally [*sic*] blown into mince meat, parts of bones and bits of flesh were scattered for rods around, mangled flesh sticking to the walls of the shanties and the bark of trees. This poor fellow died with an oath in his mouth, deriding those who would keep the Sabbath day holy. 4 others were badly wounded two of whom died soon the others likely to recover.

We have thought best to suspend our schools, dangers seen and unseen are crowding round us, we shudder at the thought of remaining. All have concluded best to go north except my wife and I. We do not feel it right to abandon the field at present.

[April] 28th [1864]

Our meeting to night was very large and the Lords Holy presence was powerfully felt in our midst. Twelve young women were convinced and asked the prayers of the Church. [. . .]

5th mo 1st [1864]

My health very poor. Our spirits a little buoyed up by attending meeting. After relieving myself I was so worn that we left before the services were through. [. . .]

Four months past my cares have been numerous, about 3000 dependant on me for rations, for clothing, medical aid, beside providing work for all who are able, and promptly paying them for all their services.

5th mo 8th [1864]

My bowels very sore continued diorhea is reducing my system and having furnished by order of Government each family with a plot of ground for vegetables and corn, 400 acres of which is now planted and looks well, I feel that we may return to our homes with the reward of peace.

[Indiana Executive Committee, *Report*, 33–34]

5th mo. 12th, 1864

[. . .] it is our prospect to start home about the first of next month.

The enemy are becoming more bold and desperate every day, and are committing all kinds of depredations on white and colored. No quarters are given to any who are connected with the Union army, except it be to prolong a barbarous death. [. . .]

[Elkanah Beard Journal, FHC–GC]

[May] 21st [1864]

To day bid adieu to our church organization, a very tender time, nearly all wept. [. . .] In the retrospect I rejoice, yet in the course of my labors I have witnessed many seasons of deep provings, and the Lord only knows how poor I am and under what a keen sense of my own weakness I have labored for the elevation of the Freedmen of our land. [. . .]

[Indiana Executive Committee, *Report*, 34–37]

6th mo. 10th, 1864

The Freed people who have been under our care in Madison Parish, La., are doing well and in a healthy condition as compared with other similar camps. Major Young,⁴¹ Inspecting Agent of Contraband Camps, visited us recently and reported our camp to have excelled all others, in respectability, in the department. There are under cultivation about 1065 acres of fertile land at the following points designated:

The Parker plantation, seven miles from Young's Point, is a camp of near 100, forty of whom are said to be orphan children under 12 years of age, and a large portion of the others residing there are able to perform very little labor; consequently, there are but one hundred acres planted in cotton and 200 in corn, besides gardens, potato patches, etc. There has been but little sickness at this place for three months past.

Two miles south of this is Culberson's, where there are about 30 who are entirely unfit for manual labor. All others residing here have been employed by two men, (who leased the greater part of the tillable land,) except two, who have planted 35 acres in cotton and 45 in corn.

One mile south of this is Cooper's—a splendid farm. 100 freedmen reside here, 60 of whom are under 12 years of age. Nearly all have had the smallpox in three months past, but are now doing well. 80 acres of cotton planted, and 155 in corn.

The Civil War Writings of an Indiana Quaker

At Young's Point, about 50 acres are planted in corn and vegetables. The men, and several women are chopping wood; and in the past month over 600 cords have been put up, and near 400 placed on bank of the river ready for sale. Much more would have been chopped had it not been for raids made by guerrillas.

For a few weeks past quite a number that reside here have lain in the woods of nights, from which exposure some have already sickened and died. There are about 400 in this camp.

In each of the camps, meetings for divine worship are kept up regularly every Firstday, and often prayer meetings in the middle of the week. Two miles west of this lies the Hocket farm. Over 100 acres were plowed and partly planted by the colored people living there, and no doubt a large crop would have been put in had it not been that guerrillas came in and captured several of the blacks, and such supplies of food and clothing as were on hand. Those that were reenslaved and carried back were put upon the auction block and sold, one woman, an excellent cotton picker, brought \$2500.00 in confederate money, but she and all the others managed to get away, and arrived in safety at the Freedmen's Home in the course of two weeks after their capture; the plantation has been entirely abandoned. The Freedmen's Home is situated on the Levee, two miles west, and in plain view of the City of Vicksburg, and is noted by all who chance to pass by, as the "nicest nigger camp I ever saw."

There are 400 here who draw rations from the Government. [. . .]

By order of Col. Eaton, Jacob Hunter, a colored man (who can read and write) takes charge of issuing rations, and the general interest of the camp, and is to report the same weekly; and, at my request, two others were set apart as salesmen of such vegetables as the different families wished to dispose of. In order to facilitate them in making sale, Gen. Slocum,⁴² in command of the post, ordered that they be conveyed to and fro across the river, free of charge.

Besides the clothing [. . .], we have received from different associations about 12,000 garments of various kinds, most of which were new, and from Friends in Philadelphia, with which we have been enabled to clothe several thousand of our fellow beings [. . .].

The general health of the different encampments is considered better than at any previous time, and it is the opinion of those connected with the management of these people, that it is mainly owing to the gratuitous contributions which have been sent for their relief by a benevolent North.

True there are many individual cases of suffering, even here where we are surrounded with abundant supplies. [. . .]

In reference to the Schools, I think I may safely say, they were an admirable success, and the Teachers did their part nobly, and the seed sown by them in the minds of their pupils, in many instances is now bringing forth good fruit. [. . .]

I would suggest [. . .] the propriety of establishing in the North a School for children, or young persons who may be selected from the many thousands now in different camps, with the special view to making Teachers for their own race. I am fully persuaded such an institution if properly carried on would be of more practical benefit to the Freedmen of the South, than many Schools now are, in the different departments of the Southwest.⁴³

It is the opinion of those in authority that through the summer and fall campaigns of the army thousands of helpless women and children will be thrown upon the charities of a benevolent public [. . .].

[Elkanah Beard Journal, FHC–GC]

6th mo 15th [1864]

Now at home midst friends, peace and plenty. [. . .]

* * * * *

[Beard did not rest long. At the end of June, the Executive Committee sent him "to visit various parts of the country, east and west, to stir up the friends of the Freedmen to renew exertions in their behalf." ⁴⁴ During July and early August he visited Quaker meetings in Philadelphia and New York and met with prominent eastern Friends such as Samuel Rhodes, editor of the Friends' Review. Beard also took the opportunity to visit prisons, orphanages, and refuge houses in the eastern cities. He returned to the midwest in time to attend Western Yearly Meeting during the middle of September and Indiana Yearly Meeting at Richmond in early October.]

10th mo 9th [1864]

Our Yearly Meeting closed yesterday. [. . .] We had hoped to have been relieved from further service among the Freedmen, but having carefully considered the matter we could not put the subject by and feel right.⁴⁵ It is our prospect to start in a few days for Vicksburg Miss, where we hope to make ourselves more useful than we possibly can by remaining in this part of the land. It is the design of our Executive Board on Freedmens affairs to have

several teachers accompany us. Hope we may all abide low and humble. I feel the responsibility of this more than either of my former trips, and often sigh for ability to do more than I hitherto have had power to accomplish. Help me O God to acquit myself as a man in thy sight in the missionary field.

VicksBurg Miss.

[n.d.]

Were kindly received and furnished quarters by those in charge of Freedmens affairs. Many are very destitute of clothing and that class are continually coming in from remote parts nearly naked, we are likely to have all we can do in adminstering to their various necessities. [. . .]

11th mo 1st [1864]

All in health. Three of our teachers have full schools, the other to commence soon. Have had several precious meetings with freedmen. Many drink in the word spoken very greedily and but few seem to know when they get enough. Hence their meetings often continue longer than is profitable. My observation here and elsewhere is that meetings for divine worship should generally be short and lively. Not depending upon silence, or looking to begin and close in stilness. [. . .]

Hence the great necessity of the instrument (minister) being instant, always devotional, fervent in prayer.

I have been reviewing the year past, see that I have fallen far behind in preaching Christ. [. . .]

New Years 1865.

I have had continual heaviness for some time past. I labor hard in clothing the poor, packing and shipping goods to other parts for the relief of the destitute. This [is] a good work but from some cause I cannot rejoice therein. [. . .]

1st mo 15 [1865]

[. . .] Four schools progressing satisfactorily, the poor learn very fast. Guerillas are again lurking around fear our Schools will be broken up. [. . .]

1st mo 25th [1865]

It being imprudent for our Teachers to remain with their classes, two have gone to Helena and two to Paw Paw island, where we hope there will be no disturbance. We have assisted in clothing several thousand since our

coming this trip, have relieved much suffering. Yet would feel more at ease were I in position to attend more upon spiritual things and temporal things less.

2nd mo 10th [1865]

The most suffering Freedmen are mostly relieved and warm weather coming on we think of returning home soon. All parties seem loth to give us up. [. . .]

[Lynn, Ind.]

3rd mo 1st [1865]

At home in usual health. On our way up River had a pleasant visit at Helena with our brethren there. They are doing a good work, and enjoying themselves very much. [. . .]

* * * * *

*[For the next few months, the Beards remained in Indiana, making religious visits to local Quaker communities. In May, Elkanah briefly visited the Mississippi Valley on behalf of Indiana Executive Committee on Freedmen, but delayed a subsequent visit two months later on account of his ill health.]*⁴⁶

9th mo 1st [1865]

Am inspecting the condition of Freedmen in the Mississippi Valley. Great changes since I was here last Spring. Most are supporting themselves and comparatively few will suffer the coming winter.

The education of this race is subject of vast magnitude. May the Lord help us to do our duty nobly toward those who have been so long enslaved.

[Lynn, Ind.]

9th mo 15th [1865]

At home in usual health of body but gloomy in mind. [. . .]

* * * * *

10th mo 3rd [1865]

Our Yearly Meeting has been one of unusual interest to me. The State of our Religious Society is more hopeful than for several years past, and that which I regard as the best omen for good is a steady growth in Missionary labor. [. . .]

My wife and I start this evening to Vicksburg, expecting to resume our labors among the Freedmen. Several other company us to different parts of

the Mississippi Valley on the same mission. Earnest have been our efforts for the elevation of this long down trodden race. May God in his love soon have a field for us to labor that is more congenial to us.

[*Friends' Review* 19 #11 (11th mo. 11, 1865): 171–172]

Vicksburg, Miss.

10th mo. 17, 1865

Our passage down the river was very tedious,—nine days from Louisville to this place; foggy weather stopped boats from running. On arriving, I made application to Dr. Foster,⁴⁷ in charge of Prentiss Hospital,⁴⁸ for lodging, until we could get transportation to Jackson. He kindly proffered us the best in the house; but, by an order from Washington, the hospital building is turned over to the owner, and orders are to evacuate immediately. There being no other buildings that can be had for a hospital, the Doctor is under the painful necessity of scattering over two hundred sick persons as best he can amongst the colored people of this vicinity; probably a few may be sent to Davis' Bend. I have no doubt the greater part of the two hundred will die from exposure this winter. Very few of them have a change of clothing, and no bedding, no money, and no friends that can furnish them. As our goods have not arrived, and we have but little money on hand, we cannot relieve them. There are some in such miserable plight that I shall make some purchases for them, hoping the committee will sustain me in it. The citizens have nearly all returned, and hundreds of colored people who had put up shanties are now turned out of them, or compelled to pay two to four dollars per month rent; and in many instances the houses are torn down over their heads.

The next day after our arrival I started for Jackson, and travelled all night in an ambulance wagon, through a very hilly country infested by robbers. I called on Col. Donelson [Donaldson], Commissioner of Freedmen's Affairs at that post,⁴⁹ and found him a true friend to the colored people. Prior to our coming the penitentiary buildings that were not burned had been set apart for our use as an orphan asylum, but the orders are now countermanded. . . . The Legislature met yesterday; and I intend seeing the Governor⁵⁰ soon, and, if possible, through him and the [Freedmen's] Bureau, obtain such buildings as we may wish. A dwelling is in readiness for the teachers. Evidently there is going to be more suffering than I anticipated when here a few weeks ago. I think all the troops will be withdrawn and mustered out; if so, schools and asylums will not be tolerated in many localities. Gov. Humphreys said yesterday we must educate; but the common people are adverse to it. [. . .] Hurry the goods down here. The sooner we get them, the more suffering we can alleviate. [. . .]

Within ten miles of Jackson there are estimated to be eleven thousand Freedmen. All are expecting the Quakers to do great things in that city.

[*The Freedmen's Record* 1 #1 (12th mo. 1865): 2-3]

Vicksburg

10th mo. 23rd, 1865

[...] I have just made the twenty-fourth trip around, through and over the city of Vicksburg, in search of buildings suitable for our business this winter. This morning I am assured by Capt. Webber, Asst. Commissioner of abandoned property, that a large two-story building with outhouses belonging thereto, all containing about twenty rooms, will be vacated this week and assigned to us. I examined the property last week but thought it could not be had, there were then eighty-six person, *black, white and colored*, living in it. I presume there is not another such a lot of filthy, lazy, low-lived vagrants in the city. The amount of repairing, scrubbing and whitewashing that will have to be done on the building is a problem undemonstrated. Said property belongs to a rebel Colonel living in Georgia. We shall try and have schools commence next 2nd day here and at Jackson. You may properly think we are on the slow train and accomplish but little. Our motto is "try, try again."

[...] When we got up in the morning there lay in the gutter just before our door a helpless colored man who was brought in and cared for. On the other corner of the street in plain view lay a dead boy of 12 or 14 years; a coffin was procured, the corpse, shrouded in an old blanket, was placed in ambulance and sent to the paupers' burial place. Breakfast now being ready, we ate, then got on to the ferry-boat, crossed the river, and went to Beard's Levee, arrived at 10 o'clock, rested a little, then went to meeting. Our coming was announced the day before, and the people were generally out. [...]

24th.—Early this morning John Watson and his wife, with five Teachers from Ohio Yearly Meeting, arrived. Officers think it best for them to locate at Jackson.⁵¹

[*Friends' Review* 19 #14 (12th mo. 2, 1865): 218-219]

Vicksburg, Miss.

10th mo. 31st, 1865

I desire through the columns of the *Review*, to say [...] that those in this valley who were helped last year are now honorably sustaining themselves, excepting those who are wholly unfit for manual labor. The thousands who survived the herding in camps, with little or no shelter, clad in rags and dependent on government for food, are now tolerably well housed, comfortably clothed, and rejoice that their industry will procure them the necessities of life.

The planting season being over before hostilities ceased, but little has been produced this year, consequently the blacks who were in the interior or outside the military lines are poorly provided for the coming winter. [. . .]

The South being devastated by war, and the citizens generally impoverished, they cannot aid the freedmen to any great extent, until their resources shall have accumulated a sufficiency to refurnish their homes with the actual necessities of life. At present there are not many who regard the blacks as having any rights which the white man should respect, except to rid the States of martial law, Commissioners of Freedmen's Bureau and Federal nigger soldiers. Hence teachers and missionaries from the North are held in derision, and scowled at or passed by in silent contempt. But, God be praised, the work is prospering, thousands can now read the sacred Scriptures, and many write letters [. . .].

Now if we of the North continue to look after the moral, physical and religious interests of this portion of God's poor, I believe a blessing will attend, and the day will be hastened when the citizens [of the] South will give an impetus to this great and good work by making provisions in their statutes for the education of those whom they have so long regarded as mere chattles.

Just so long as the great body of freedmen remain uneducated they will more and more partake of the baneful influences of the stagnant and polluted fountains which constantly pour forth streams of miasma prejudicial to their growth in grace; and their right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, will to a great extent be thwarted. [. . .]

[*The Freedmen's Record* 1 #1 (12th mo. 1865): 3-4]

Vicksburg, Miss.

11th mo. 13th, 1865

Our dear friends, Dr. Hill⁵² and John Henry Douglas⁵³, made their appearance at our door seventh-day morning last, and, to use the well known phrase, their company is acceptable and their gospel labors edifying.

First-day morning, 10 o'clock, we had meeting for them on the levee—about 400 present. J. H. D. soon had the hearts of all tendered, and would have had nearly all of them shouting had he not put on the brakes a little. Dr. Hill spoke well. He also found some friends from North Carolina,—they were rejoiced to see each other again. [. . .] We took dinner at Albert Baily's (colored,) which was served up in good order. Returned to De Soto, (opposite Vicksburg,) where we found about 600 waiting our arrival. [. . .]

J. L. Watson was here on seventh-day. They are all in usual health, and have near 150 children in school. They are also building four new school

houses, and are flattered with the prospect of doing much good.

John Woodard has taught one week on the levee. He has had 45 pupils, and will have a good many more this week.

M. A. Macy's school, in our house, last week numbered 50 children enrolled, to-day 75, and several turned off. M. A. M. being unwell, Lucinda taught for her to-day. She is better this evening, and will probably take her school to-morrow. Last week Lucinda B. Jenkins and Irena Beard had 24 women sewing—they had 104 garments made, which were cut out of overcoats. This morning about 60 came to work, which was more than Irena could manage—38 went to work and made 54 garments, mostly pants and coats. Most of these women know but very little about sewing, and nearly all are very destitute. We pay them 25 cents each for making pants and coats, 10 cents for shirts, and 15 cents for capes. I am obliged to pay them some money to keep them from starving, but generally in such goods as they need the most, at cost. The goods we have here will soon be made up and given out, or sold to those who have little means to buy with.

[. . .] We shall need at least 300 Testaments for the use of our various schools, and we should like to have a good assortment of cards and tickets, simple texts, etc., for our Scripture Schools. We also need tracts of narrative, thrilling incidents calculated to stir up the ungodly and awaken the sinner, which some of us can read and explain who are not gifted in the ministry.

[. . .] We are enjoying ourselves much more than when here formerly. Our home is well adapted to our mission. [. . .]

[*The Freedmen's Record* 1 #2 (1st mo. 1866): 5-6]

12th mo. 6, 1865

On 12th mo. 1st, Dr. Hood⁵⁴ and myself started for Lauderdale, and were joined at Jackson by J. H. Douglas and Col. Donaldson. After inspecting the buildings, lands, and surroundings, we thought it best to try and buy the lands the Hospitals stand on—forty acres in one tract and thirty in the other; Col. Donaldson agreeing to see one party, and Capt. Buckwalter the other. I have not heard how they succeeded, but probably will this week.

Col. S. Thomas kindly proffers to loan us the money we may need if we should purchase. He has also agreed to fit up the buildings in complete order, furnish rations for the destitute, fuel, medical attendance, hospital supplies, transportation, and a complete outfit for cooking, and bedding for one hundred and fifty orphan children. Two wards are now being fitted for use, and I see nothing to hinder us having in one month's time everything in

readiness for two hundred children and two hundred sick. The two hospitals will accommodate about one thousand persons.

Dr. Hood, the Medical Purveyor, requests me to write to Dr. Young, of Lewisburg, Ohio, and if possible, engage his services in the hospital. He is a friend we should like very much to have. Lest we should fail to get him, please see if there are not other physicians who can be employed. Dr. Hood will pay \$100 per month, etc., for a man that he is sure will fill the bill.

We are having the goods shipped to us made us as fast as we think proper, as you may see by referring to report of Industrial Schools. I yesterday turned over to government transportation fifty boxes and packages of supplies for Lauderdale.

Our day schools are highly satisfactory, and our Sabbath schools very interesting. We have no house suitable for religious meetings, but make use of our largest school room, in which we can pack 150 children. [. . .]

Lucinda B. Jenkins is visiting from house to house in the city, and finds more suffering for bread than clothing. We must try to relieve all that are suffering in our midst.

Aaron B. Nordyke has arrived, and is fitting up a school room on the levee. [. . .]

[Elkanah Beard Journal, FHC-GC]

Vicksburg

1st mo 1st 1866

Nearly three months elapsed since leaving our homes. Our health for the most part has been good [. . .]. Our family consists of L. B. Jenkins M. A. Macy and L. Bond who are teaching the poor colored children, many of whom learn rapidly.

My wife has an industrial school. L. B. J. has been associated with her most of the time. No doubt they are doing much good.

I feel that I do not amount to much anywhere but felt it right for me to company my dear wife who apprehended it right for her to spend a few months in this Missionary enterprise. So soon as her services are accomplished I hope we may be at liberty to return home.

I have appointed several meetings for worship in this City and in the Parish of Madison La. [. . .]

Lauderdale Miss.

2nd mo 20. / 66

Since my last entry, Indiana Yearly Meeting through their Agents have purchased a tract of land on which are suitable buildings for Asylum and

Hospital for the relief of Orphan children and destitute sickly freedmen. This land is located in the eastern part of the State of Mississippi near the Mobile & Ohio Rail Road.

I have long desired that such homes might be prepared for this class where they may be placed under the judicious management of Godly Friends and for the furtherance of said enterprise we have closed our operations [*sic*] at Vicksburg, and transferred all our effects to Lauderdale Miss. Where we are now spending a few days preparatory to going home.

My dear wife and the Teachers associated with us have earnestly labored for the benefit of the destitute the past winter and I have seen much good resulting from their untiring efforts and no doubt several have been through them hopefully converted to Christ.

I have not thought proper to say much of myself during our present sojourn south and feel myself to be nothing more than lackey boy or servant to them. [. . .]

My dear wife would willingly devote a few weeks more at the Asylum and Hospital, but I have grown quite homesick, and believe that the time has fully come for me to proceed home and engage in a mission of Gospel love to the poorer class of Citizens near our lovely place of abode.

After spending a few days here, we parted with our dear friends in charge and the colored people in much love. [. . .]

[Lynn, Ind.]

3rd mo 10th 1866.

We had a very pleasant journey home, were greeted with a hearty welcome by our dear friends and acquaintance. [. . .]

I would here insert for the benefit of whom it may concern that in all my varied positions and arduous labors for the Refugees and Freedmen I have striven to demean myself courteously and gentlemanly, ever bearing in mind that it is more Christ like to forgive and pity, than to resent an imaginary or real insult or wrong. [. . .]

My interviews and associations with the Military and those high in authority has been of a very pleasant and instructive character, and they have invariably treated me with respect.

I have frequently been engaged in prayer with and for them and in dining with them have been constrained by the love of God, to ask a blessing and give thanks vocally.

In some of these seasons the Sword of the Spirit hath supplanted the

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Sword of Steel and the bearers of the latter have confessed that the position of friends on the subject of war is truly consonant with the spirit of the gospel and that it is in advance of all others etc. etc. It has been proverbial with many that "Mr. Beard the quaker could get any thing he asked for."

I have made it a point never to speak evil of those high in authority although they might not rule well and in appearing before such for favors, present my pleas without apology and so soon as my business was through politely to withdraw, which was the cause of another by word with many in the Mississippi Valley. "Mr. Beard the quaker is a man of good hard common sense." And much laugh was had by some in that I said on one occasion I trusted in the Providence of God to which they added "and the mercy of guerillas." [. . .]

* * * * *

[For the next year, the Beards appear to have remained outside of Dixie, traveling throughout the Midwest on missionary and religious endeavors.]

8th mo 25th 1867

Having had a prospect before me for some time of religious service in Iowa & some of the southern State[s] bordering on the Mississippi River I laid the matter before our monthly and quarterly meetings with which [. . .] I was encouraged to proceed in the work as the Lord may open the way.⁵⁵

[Elkanah Beard Diary, FC-EC]

Lauderdale, Mississippi

New Years day, 1st mo. 1st, 1868

[. . .] At three pm our orphans⁵⁶ came and stood in front of the door and sang us a Newyears greeting. There [*sic*] countenances beamed with joyful childlike innocence.

[. . .] Bade my dear wife farewell and started on a visit to Memphis, Helena and Little Rock.

1st mo. 9th [1868]

Arrived this evening at Littlerock. On my way I visited the Schools and Orphanage at Helena. The Schools are satisfactorily conducted. [. . .]

I had some very interesting meetings with the Methodists and Baptists in Helena. On parting with them they tendered me a vote of thanks and prayed God to bless my mission among them.

[January] 15th [1868]

I start this morning for Vicksburg. My visit to this place, Little Rock, has been more satisfactory than I expected. [. . .]

I have had three meetings with the colored people, two of them very large. The weather was very inclement, the ground covered with ice. This did not deter some of the poor from walking 8 or ten miles to be at meeting. A most singular occurrence took place at one of the meetings. A young man who was sitting near the stove which was very hot fell asleep and as I quoted the scripture "then smoke of their torment ascendeth forever and ever," he lent so near the stove that his hair caught fire and the smoke rolled in volumes to the ceiling above.

Happily the poor fellow was awakened and not badly burned. The sensation was very impressive and no doubt the text of scripture will long be remembered by many who were present. [. . .]

[January] 17th [1868]

Arrived at Vicksburg. Stopped over night with Dr. Forster who has done much for the relief of the poor and suffering of all classes. He is in charge of the Marine Hospital.

The vessel on which I came was very much crowded with passengers and heavy laden with cotton. On account of the driftwood floating in the River we made slow progress. [. . .]

[January] 22nd [1868]

Arrived at Lauderdale, found my dear wife and family of orphans in usual health.

Whilst at Vicksburg, I had an interview with Genl. Gillem⁵⁷ in reference to the Asylum. He proposes soon to relieve friends from any further expense and I think a transfer will be satisfactorily made.

2nd mo. 1st 1868

[...] Since my last entry we have had the company of our dear friend John Butler of Ohio⁵⁸. He is an humble, meek man, and such the Lord guides in judgment and teaches in the right way. [. . .]

[February] 8th [1868]

Our family of 60 orphans and the necessary attendants cause us much anxiety. [. . .]

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The weather has been remarkably cold for some days. Near five inches of snow fell, which is very uncommon for this latitude. A good many cattle have perished for want of food and shelter.

Our children also suffer from the cold and some of them are quite ill. It grieves my heart to see and hear of so much suffering.

3rd mo. 1st [1868]

I've again been to Vicksburg. Had some very large and satisfactory meetings with the colored people and I was greatly comforted by the marked improvement of several who were first awakened by my ministry some three years ago. [. . .]

3rd mo 8, 1868

[. . .] One of our little boys has passed away. [. . .]

[March] 20th [1868]

[. . .] Gen. Gillem has been with us to day. He expressed himself as highly pleased with the management of the Asylum. He said "it is in the best condition of any Asylum I ever visited." I am sure we have worked hard to make it so. I hope we shall not be puffed up by flattery.

[March] 22nd [1868]

Our meetings are generally well attended by the colored people in this vicinity (Lauderdale). [. . .]

[March] 29th [1868]

My dear wife has gone on a visit to Vicksburg and vicinity where we formerly labored. Home does not seem to be here when she is gone. I must be content for I often leave her to take [care] of home while I go on the Master's errands. [. . .]

4th mo. 5th [1868]

Irena has come home. L. B. Jenkins went with her, they enjoyed their visit very much. They had many precious seasons of prayer with the poor near Vicksburg.

One of the colored men who works here rode out in the woods to hunt a cow that had strayed away. On his return he was met by two white men who were armed. One of them shot him without any provocation. Fortunately the

wound is not dangerous. Such is the feeling of the whites towards the blacks in the part of the south since their freedom they are wantonly murdered.

The ex-slaves are however making considerable improvement despite their ill treatment.

[April] 14th [1868]

Today my dear wife, L. B. Jenkins and R. Hodgins with four Orphan children start home. We have for some weeks been quite anxious to be relieved. Our successors will come tomorrow. In a few days I hope to make the transfer of property, etc. We have been very much annoyed by the course taken by an Officer of the [Freedmen's] Bureau in settling disputes, etc., between certain parties who reside near us. This course has been such as to incur the displeasure of nearly all the citizens and he is in danger of being mobbed and living next door to us we have feared we should have to suffer on his account.

[April] 20th [1868]

Have satisfactorily transferred our property to O. French. I now take leave of orphans and servants, thankful to set my face homeward once more.

[Lynn, Ind.]

[April] 26th [1868]

Reached home. On my way I stopped at New Market, Tennessee and had meeting with the few friends who reside in this vicinity which is known by the name of "Lost Creek." ⁵⁹

We have been absent from home about 8 months during which time I have had about one hundred appointed meetings beside attending to other service in behalf of the freedmen. [. . .] ⁶⁰

* * * * *

[December] 29th [1868]

Today met with the Executive Committee on freedmens affairs and at their request engaged to make a tour through the Southwest where there are friends now laboring for their elevation and report the general state of things among them and the work being done by friends. [. . .]

* * * * *

2nd mo. 11th [1869]

Got home today from a tour in the South among the freedmen. Have been absent 30 days.

During this time I have had several large and satisfactory meetings and visited all the points where friends have been stationed in the Mississippi Valley.

I am astonished to find the colored people getting on so well. Both pecuniarily and religiously they are making better progress considering their opportunities than their former owners.

I visited the State Legislatures of Mississippi and Arkansas and also met some of the leading men in Tennessee. I find many who hold responsible positions in government who are determined to hinder in every way possible the education of the ex-slave. Some of the colored people have been elected to Office, a few of whom show themselves totally unfit for the rights which have been conferred upon them, and from the very nature of their ignorance we cannot expect for them to be any thing else but proud, haughty and contemptible in the eyes of those who have ever been accustomed to drive them as beasts of burden.⁶¹ Murder, rapine and all manner of wickedness reigns in many districts. The dreadful scourge of war and blood shed that has swept our beloved country does not seem to have lessened the prevailing vices of the Southern people, and unless there should be a change soon I fear some greater calamity will come upon us. I had many interviews with men who took an active part in the rebellion. I was treated kindly by them and was invited in to their pulpits. Southern gentlemen are so given to pleasure and strong drink that it makes my heart sad to be with them and often times high professors in a fit of anger utter the most horrid curses I ever heard.

[. . .] The Arkansas Legislature tendered me a vote of thanks in behalf of the interest taken by friends in the education of the freedmen in their State.

Our School at the Capitol [Little Rock] is quite satisfactory.⁶² The Helena Asylum and Normal School is however wielding a greater influence for good. Whilst there I had a number of public and private interviews with the children and some others.

Eight persons requested to become members and I intend forwarding their names to Whitewater Monthly Meeting.⁶³

Notes

¹This date is probably in error. Elkanah Beard would have turned 24 years old on October 28, 1857. The next entry in his diary is dated 10th mo. 8, 1858. Elkanah Beard Journal (MS 484, Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College).

²The Emancipation Proclamation, issued by President Abraham Lincoln in September, 1862, declared that all slaves in areas still in rebellion after January 1, 1863, would be free.

³Under Quaker practice, any outreach or ministerial work undertaken by a member on behalf of the Society had to be endorsed by the member's monthly meeting, which issued a certificate of approval. At the June 13, 1863, session of Cherry Grove Monthly Meeting in Randolph County, Indiana, Beard announced his desire "to spend some time in the Southwestern Encampments of our Country, as a missionary amongst the colored people lately liberated from Slavery." The meeting concurred with his decision. Cherry Grove Monthly Meeting, Men's Minute Book III, 1843–1867 (Microfilm F 472(b)1, Indiana Historical Society, Indianapolis), 422. A year earlier, Beard accompanied Ruth Johnson, an acknowledged minister in Cherry Grove Monthly Meeting, in her religious work in east-central Indiana. *ibid.*, 401, 405, 414.

⁴At the May 23, 1863, session, the Meeting appointed a committee of fifteen members, including Elkanah Beard, to investigate the "physical wants" of the freedmen and see to their instruction "in the great doctrines of life and salvation by Jesus Christ." This action precipitated the appointment of the Executive Committee on Freedmen by the Yearly Meeting in late 1863. This information, culled from original records, was provided by Dr. Thomas Hamm of Earlham College, via personal letter to the editor, Feb. 23, 1998.

⁵Asa S. Fiske, Chaplain of the 4th Minnesota Volunteer Infantry, was assigned as Superintendent of Freedmen for Memphis in January 1863 by Colonel John Eaton, General Superintendent of Freedmen, Department of the Tennessee and the State of Arkansas. John Eaton, *Grant, Lincoln, and the Freedmen* (New York: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1907), 31–32.

⁶Possibly Captain Silas W. Sawyer, 9th Connecticut Volunteers. In May 1863, while serving as provost marshal in St. Bernard Parish, Louisiana, Sawyer reportedly tortured a freedman who refused to work for a northern planter at government-established wages. He was eventually arrested and discharged from the service. Louis S. Gerteis, *From Contraband to Freedman: Federal Policy Toward Southern Blacks, 1861–1865*, Contributions in

American History, No. 29 (Westport, CN: Greenwood Press, 1973), 92–93, 214.

⁷ President's Island, near Memphis.

⁸ Indiana Yearly Meeting, *Minutes of Indiana Yearly Meeting of Friends*, 1863 (Cincinnati: E. Morgan and Sons, 1863), 27–29, 49–50; Indiana Yearly Meeting, *Report of Indiana Yearly Meeting's Executive Committee, for the Relief of Colored Freedmen* (Richmond, IN: Holloway & Davis, 1864), 4–5; Indiana Yearly Meeting, *Minutes*, 1864, 18–19.

⁹ Elizabeth (Lizzy) Bond, an Indiana Quaker, established schools for the Freedmen along the Mississippi. In 1863, she taught at the Young's Point refugee camp, where "[s]he will be assisted hereafter by two young women sent down by Indiana Yearly Meeting, and the school will number about 300 pupils. This comprises 175 orphan girls, and 75 orphan boys; 100 of whom have neither father nor mother." Friends' Association of Philadelphia, *Statistics of the . . . Friends' Association of Philadelphia, and its Vicinity, for the Relief of the Colored Freedmen*. (Philadelphia: Inquirer Printing Office, [1864?]), 22–23.

¹⁰ On Oct. 2, 1863, Adjutant General Lorenzo Thomas promoted William G. Sargeant from Quartermaster of the 7th Kansas Cavalry, to Major in the 9th Louisiana Colored Infantry. The new regiment consisted of freedmen deemed unfit for the battlefield, but strong enough for garrison duty. Beginning in January 1864, Sargeant oversaw the army's efforts towards the freedmen in the District of Arkansas. Eaton, *Grant, Lincoln, and the Freedmen*, 108, 126, 220; Gerteis, *From Contraband to Freedmen*, 125.

¹¹ After the fall of Vicksburg, and the end of large-scale Confederate operations in the Mississippi Valley, rebel guerrillas continued to harass Union troops and civilians. They frequently raided the poorly-defended plantations, looting and burning stores and reenslaving the freedpeople. In 1864, Colonel John Eaton lamented that "[m]any lessees have been captured—not a few murdered with all the circumstances of fiendish cruelty. The wonder is that the whole labor of these guerrilla-infested regions has not become demoralized and entirely worthless." He estimated that over one thousand freedpeople had been kidnapped and sold back into slavery by December of that year. John Eaton, *Report of the General Superintendent of Freedmen, Department of the Tennessee and the State of Arkansas for 1864* (Memphis, TN: n.p., 1865), 49, 53.

¹² The African Methodist Episcopal Church played an important role in relief work for black refugees across the South. For a discussion of the

activities of the A. M. E., see Clarence E. Walker, *A Rock in a Weary Land: The African Methodist Episcopal Church during the Civil War and Reconstruction* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982), 46–81.

¹³ On July 4, 1863, Confederate generals Theophilus Holmes and Sterling Price (1809–1867) attacked Helena, Arkansas, in a belated attempt to relieve Union pressure on Vicksburg. Despite their numerical superiority, Confederate soldiers could not overcome the devastating artillery and strong fortifications of the northern garrison. In six hours of fighting, the southerners lost more than sixteen hundred men, while the Yankee defenders suffered around two hundred casualties. Albert Castel, *General Sterling Price and the Civil War in the West* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1968), 140–152; Robert E. Shalhope, *Sterling Price: Portrait of a Southerner* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1971), 238–241.

¹⁴ Colonel Samuel Thomas later corroborated Beard's account of his first days at Young's Point: "I remember well the cold, windy Sabbath morning when they put up a tent, which I had given them, on the bank of the river, in front of the camp, and cheerfully began their work, without any of the comforts, and with but few of the necessities of life." Eaton, *Report*, 13.

¹⁵ As adjutant general of the U. S. Army, Brigadier General Lorenzo Thomas (1804–1875) found himself responsible for formulating a plan to incorporate the freedmen into the Union military strategy. He toured the Mississippi Valley on several occasions in 1863 to appraise the situation firsthand. The resulting system emphasized the use of African Americans as soldiers and plantation laborers, always under white control. Gerteis, *From Contraband to Freedmen*, 122–133; Ezra J. Warner, *Generals in Blue: Lives of the Union Commanders* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1964), 502–503.

¹⁶ John Eaton (1829–1906) was serving as chaplain of the 27th Ohio Volunteers when General Ulysses S. Grant appointed him superintendent of contrabands for the Mississippi Valley in September 1862. For three years, Eaton implemented the military's policy for the freedpeople in the Mississippi Valley, coordinating government activity with the efforts of the private relief agencies. Toward the close of the war, he received a promotion to brigadier general and oversaw the Freedmen's Bureau in the District of Columbia. After the war, Eaton served as state superintendent of public instruction in Tennessee, head of the federal Bureau of Education, and superintendent of schools in Puerto Rico. Ethel Osgood Mason, "John Eaton: A Biographical Sketch," in Eaton, *Grant, Lincoln, and the Freedmen*, ix–xxxiv.

¹⁷ Samuel Thomas, a fellow chaplain with John Eaton in the 27th Ohio Volunteers, served as Eaton's assistant in the relief effort for the freedpeople of the Mississippi Valley. Appointed colonel of the 7th Louisiana Colored Infantry in 1863, he supervised activities in Vicksburg and at Davis Bend, Mississippi, before being promoted to brigadier general and head of the Freedmen's Bureau for the State of Mississippi in 1865. Eaton, *Grant, Lincoln, and the Freedmen*, 16, 33, 108–109.

¹⁸ Beard probably meant the Northwestern Sanitary Commission, based in Chicago. Like all sanitary commissions, its primary focus lay in assisting soldiers, but as the war progressed, it contributed a substantial amount to the relief of former slaves in the Mississippi Valley. See Sarah E. Henshaw, *Our Branch and its Tributaries; Being a History of the Work of the Northwestern Sanitary Commission and its Auxiliaries, during the War of the Rebellion* (Chicago: A. L. Sewell, 1868).

¹⁹ In late 1863, Samuel Shipley reported that Beard, "is decidedly of the opinion that we will best promote the real interests of the Freedmen by selling to those able to buy, at a reasonable price, in preference to universal giving. There are many cases where they come into camp scantily clothed, and with no money; but. . . he can at once, under the stimulus of their need, put them to work. . . . He also proposes that we should send out a few goods unmade, with a supply of trimmings, that he may be able to employ some of the old women who can do no out-door work. . . ." Friends' Association of Philadelphia, *Statistics*, 17–18.

²⁰ The rules and declarations were printed in "Agreement and Declaration of Faith of the Colored 'Union Camp Church,' Young's Point, on the Mississippi River," *Friends' Review* 17 #21 (1st mo. 23, 1864): 325. A similar version also appeared in Indiana Executive Committee, *Report*, 24–25.

²¹ Five years later, the church still existed with a membership of more than 180 individuals. Indiana Yearly Meeting, 1868, *Minutes*, 42.

²² Lucinda B. Jenkins, a member of Indiana Yearly Meeting, operated a number of schools at Vicksburg. "Letter from Lucinda B. Jenkins," *The Freedmen's Record*, 1 #4 (3rd mo. 1866): 11.

²³ In 1864, Samuel Shipley reported that in the Quaker schools, "a small charge is made for tuition, and the sum (15 cents per week) is cheerfully paid, and in some instances in advance for the month." Friends' Association of Philadelphia, *Statistics*, 21–22.

²⁴ Shipley, a wealthy Philadelphia businessman with interests in insurance and import firms, served as president of the Executive Board of the

Friends' Association of Philadelphia and its Vicinity for the Relief of Colored Freedmen. He made a tour of the Mississippi Valley to survey the condition of the freed people during the winter of 1863–64, meeting several times with Elkanah Beard. His lengthy report is printed in *Statistics of the Operations of the Executive Board of Friends' Association of Philadelphia and its Vicinity for the Relief of Colored Freedmen* (Philadelphia: Inquirer Printing Office, 1864), 9–26. The Friends' Association reported the following shipments in 1863: "16 boxes, containing 4,003 garments, 1 bale of 30 blankets, and 4 boxes containing 1,200 army shirts . . . 40 lbs. knitting yarn and 144 sets knitting needles, to Elkanah Beard" at Vicksburg and "2 boxes of 702 garments . . . [and] 12 sets shoemaker's tools" to Friends at Helena, Arkansas. Another "[n]ine cases, containing 2,806 garments, and 1,200 army shirts are held in Cincinnati," to be sent to the Mississippi Valley if needed. Friends' Association of Philadelphia, *Statistics*, 5, 9, 19.

²⁵The Western Sanitary Commission played a significant role in the relief effort. In 1866, it was supporting sixteen schools across the southwestern states. "The Western and Northwestern Commissions: Their Schools," *Friends' Review*, 19 #24 (2nd mo. 10, 1866): 378–379. For a recent appraisal of the commission, see William E. Parrish, "Western Sanitary Commission," *Civil War History* 36 #1 (March 1990): 17–35.

²⁶On March 14, 1864, Samuel Thomas reported to John Eaton that "At Young's Point the people have about one thousand cords of wood cut, but are now turning their attention to agriculture. Under the direction of Mr. Beard they have small pieces of ground allotted to them on which they have built houses and expect to raise vegetables for the Vicksburg market. But without the aid of the Government to supply them with teams, implements, and rations, they must fail." Ira Berlin *et al.*, eds., *Freedom: A Documentary History of Emancipation, 1861–1867* Series I, Vol. III "The Wartime Genesis of Free Labor: The Lower South," (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 811–812.

²⁷General William Tecumseh Sherman (1820–1891) served in the Mississippi Valley region under General Ulysses S. Grant through most of the first half of the war. After Grant's promotion to chief command of the Union army in March 1864, Sherman assumed responsibility for the western theater. He gained his greatest fame in 1864 and 1865, when he severed his supply lines to march on Atlanta and Savannah, Georgia, and into the Carolinas. Vowing to make war untenable for the southern people, his army devastated a swath of land forty miles wide wherever it went. Sherman served as general-in-chief of the army from 1869 until his retirement in 1884. Warner, *Generals in*

Blue, 441–444.

²⁸ In February 1864, Sherman took 24,000 troops from Vicksburg to destroy the important Confederate depot at Meridian, Mississippi. At least five thousand black refugees followed the Union army back to Vicksburg. Stanley P. Hirshon, *The White Tecumseh: A Biography of General William T. Sherman* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1997), 180–185.

²⁹ James and Sarah Smith, members of the Indiana Yearly Meeting from Milton, served as teachers and “rendered various services” at the Young’s Point camp. Sarah Smith also “had some trying experiences” at Island No. 63, where she “declared the wretchedness and filthiness exceeded anything she had ever seen.” Francis Charles Anscombe, “The Contributions of the Quakers to the Reconstruction of the Southern States” (Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina, 1926), 174.

³⁰ Napoleon Bonaparte Buford (1807–1883), a West Point graduate, served in a number of battles in the Mississippi Valley during 1862 and 1863, ultimately earning the rank of major general. During the latter part of the war, he assumed command of the Union forces in the District of Arkansas. After leaving the army in August 1865, he served in a number of federal positions before moving to Chicago. Warner, *Generals in Blue*, 53–54.

³¹ John Eaton appointed William G. Sargeant to the position on October 15, 1863. Eaton, *Grant, Lincoln and the Freedmen*, 57.

³² Early in 1864, General Buford proposed that the Quakers establish an orphanage for the large number of abandoned or lost black children in Helena. Beard relayed the request to the Indiana Yearly Meeting’s Executive Committee on Freedmen, which approved the plan and sent Calvin and Alida Clark of Wayne County to oversee the operation. The institution later became Southland College. Kennedy, “Southland College,” 208–209.

³³ Calvin and Alida Clark, a middle-aged abolitionist farm couple from Wayne County, Indiana, responded to the call for Friends to care for black orphans in the South. They arrived in Helena on April 8, 1864, for a brief tour of duty that extended into more than twenty years of labor in eastern Arkansas. They supervised the orphanage and subsequent boarding school at Helena until 1886. Their ceaseless fundraising efforts and dedication to black rights secured the success of the institution. Thomas C. Kennedy, “Southland College: The Society of Friends and Black Education in Arkansas,” *Arkansas Historical Quarterly*, 43 #3 (Autumn 1983): 209–220; Thomas C. Kennedy, “The Rise and Decline of a Black Monthly Meeting: Southland, Arkansas, 1864–1925,” *Arkansas Historical Quarterly*, 50 #2 (Summer

1991): 116–123. Extensive discussion of Alida Clark—including a fictional play based on her work—appears in Linda B. Selleck, *Gentle Invaders: Quaker Women Educators and Racial Issues During the Civil War and Reconstruction* (Richmond, IN: Friends United Press, 1995).

³⁴ Susan L. Horney, a member of Indiana Yearly Meeting, ventured south with Calvin and Alida Clark in early 1864. She assisted at the orphanage at Helena until December 1864, when she established an “Industrial School” at Helena to teach sewing to freedwomen. In the first year of the school, her charges created over one thousand articles of clothing from contributed material; the raiments were sold or given to refugees or donated to the black hospital in town. Indiana Yearly Meeting, *Minutes*, 1865, 42–44.

³⁵ By 1865, the orphanage was well established. Military officials noted that, “The neatness and order of everything here, in the midst of so many children, and such inconveniences, is as surprising as it is beneficent. These little ones owe a debt of gratitude to Mr. and Mrs. Clarke [*sic*], the self-denying managers.” Eaton, *Report*, 72.

³⁶ While Beard was in Indiana presenting General Buford’s request to the Executive Committee, the military ordered Friends to move their operations from Young’s Point to Madison Parish, two miles from Vicksburg. Upon his return, Beard established a “Home Farm” and an orphanage—all under the name “The Freedmen’s Home”—for the approximately one thousand destitute refugees there. *Friends’ Review*, 18 #3 (9th mo. 17, 1864): 37–39.

³⁷ Little is known of Dr. Fahnestock besides his last name. Apparently he was a native of Indianapolis. Elkanah and Irena Beard to Samuel R. Shipley, April 30, 1864, in *The Freedmen’s Friend*, 1 (6th mo. 1864), cited in James T. Currie, *Enclave: Vicksburg and Her Plantations, 1863–1870* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1980), 63–64. In his 1864 report, John Eaton noted that “Medical care of the sable sick has cost the murder of the esteemed Fahnestock, and the captivity—perhaps death—of others.” Eaton, *Report*, 97.

³⁸ A large bend of the Mississippi River approximately twenty–five miles south of Vicksburg forms an easily defensible peninsula of land. Although formally known as Palmyra Bend, the area was commonly called Davis Bend after the family of its most famous resident, Confederate President Jefferson Davis. Like the Arlington, Virginia, home of Confederate General Robert E. Lee, the Davis plantation became a trophy of the Union advance. After the fall of Vicksburg in July 1863, northern commanders quickly established a colony for the freedpeople at Davis Bend. According to Francis Anscombe,

over 113,000 black refugees gathered at the former residence of the Davis family during the war. Anscombe, "Contribution of the Quakers," 173. The Civil War development of Davis Bend has been described in Janet Sharp Hermann, *The Pursuit of a Dream* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981), 37–106.

In 1863, Samuel Shipley advocated the establishment of a tenant system at Davis Bend under the supervision of Friends, who would advance needed materials to the black farmers to be repaid at harvest. "Perhaps no one thing will contribute more to make Slavery hereafter impossible in our land," Shipley argued, "than the demonstrated fact that Cotton can be successfully grown by the negroes themselves." Friends' Association of Philadelphia, *Statistics*, 25–26. Despite the support of Colonel John Eaton, the plan fell victim to Treasury Department orders that all abandoned lands be leased to would-be northern planters. Hermann, *The Pursuit of a Dream*, 46–50.

In early 1864, the Quaker-dominated Cincinnati Contraband Relief Commission sent Henry Rowntree, a Friend, to work among the Freedmen at Davis Bend. Hermann, *The Pursuit of a Dream*, 51–60. Several of his letters to the commission have been published in James T. Currie, ed., "Freedmen at Davis Bend, April 1864," *Journal of Mississippi History*, 46 #2 (May 1984): 120–129.

³⁹ According to legend, General Grant created the name when, believing that abandoned plantations should be occupied by freedmen, he declared his hope that Davis Bend would "become a Negro paradise." Eaton, *Grant, Lincoln, and the Freedmen*, 86.

⁴⁰ Like Dr. Fahenstock, Cathcart has left little historical record. He apparently was one of two northern planters murdered by Confederate guerrillas in 1864. Eaton, *Report*, 97.

⁴¹ George W. Young, another of John Eaton's colleagues from the 27th Ohio Volunteers, served as superintendent of freedmen in the Natchez district before succumbing to malaria during the second half of 1864. Eaton, *Grant, Lincoln, and the Freedmen*, 19, 108.

⁴² Henry Warner Slocum (1827–1894), a West Point graduate, served in the Union army throughout the war. He remained in the eastern theater from First Manassas through Gettysburg, transferring to the District of Vicksburg in 1864. In August 1864, he joined Sherman's army for its famed "March to the Sea" and Carolina campaigns. After the war, he served three terms in Congress. Warner, *Generals in Blue*, 451–453.

⁴³ No such school appears to have opened in the North under Quaker

supervision. Southland College, which Indiana Friends established near Helena, Arkansas, in 1869, did serve such a purpose.

⁴⁴ *Friends' Review* 17 #46 (7th mo. 16, 1864): 731.

⁴⁵ On October 8, 1864, Irena Beard informed Cherry Grove Monthly Meeting "that she expects to be absent for some months." Cherry Grove Monthly Meeting, Women's Minutes, Vol. III (1852–1879) (Microfilm F472(b)2, Indiana Historical Society, Indianapolis), n.p.

⁴⁶ Indiana Yearly Meeting, *Minutes*, 1865, 45–47.

⁴⁷ Possibly Dr. Charles A. Foster, an army surgeon from Chicago. On March 5, 1864, Dr. Foster was detailed from the Freedmen's General Hospital at Vicksburg to establish a second hospital to serve the African Americans between Davis Bend, Mississippi, and Goodrich's Landing, Louisiana. He remained in charge of the hospital until April 1865, when he likely returned to Vicksburg. Hermann, *Pursuit of a Dream*, 54, 79.

⁴⁸ In 1863, Union troops transformed a large building owned by secessionist Sergeant S. Prentiss into a hospital for the freedpeople. With capacity for 360 patients, the hospital played an important role in the medical care of the region. Following the war, Prentiss successfully appealed to President Andrew Johnson for the restoration of his property, and the military abandoned the hospital in October 1865. The freedpeople temporarily found themselves with no available medical facility, as the city hospital refused to treat African Americans. In February 1866, the city council and the Freedmen's Bureau erected a second public facility to serve indigent blacks. Currie, *Enclave*, 217–218; William L. Woods, "The Travail of Freedom: Mississippi Blacks, 1862–1870" (Ph. D. dissertation, Princeton University, 1979), 58.

⁴⁹ Lieutenant Colonel R. S. Donaldson served as commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau at Jackson, Mississippi, and as acting assistant commissioner for the Northern District of Mississippi. "Col. Donaldson's Report," *The Freedmen's Record*, 1 #2 (1st mo. 1866): 11–13. In April 1866, the Friends' Board of Control petitioned Secretary of War Edwin Stanton and Freedmen's Bureau chief, General O. O. Howard, in an unsuccessful attempt to continue Colonel Donaldson in the employ of the Bureau after his regiment was mustered out of service. "Minutes of Executive Committee," *ibid.*, 1 #5 (4th mo. 1866): 1, 9.

⁵⁰ Benjamin G. Humphreys, a pre-war Unionist planter from Claiborne County, captured a plurality of the vote in the gubernatorial election on October 2, 1865. Despite serving as a Confederate general, Humphreys received a presidential pardon after his election and subsequently assumed

the governorship on October 16. He proved to be a racial moderate, advocating the extension of personal and property rights to the freedpeople but opposing political and social integration. The presence of a former rebel in the state's executive office inflamed Republicans, and added to their determination to overturn the lenient Reconstruction policies pursued by Andrew Johnson. William C. Harris, *Presidential Reconstruction in Mississippi* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1967), 104–117, 126.

⁵¹ The efforts of Ohio Friends have been detailed in Thomas H. Smith, "Ohio Quakers and the Mississippi Freedmen—'A Field to Labor,'" *Ohio History*, 78 (Summer 1969): 159–171. Lizzie Bond accompanied the Ohio Quakers to Jackson on October 26, where they encountered intense white hostility. "The citizens were bitterly opposed to our coming," Bond reported, "as there have never been any schools at this place for the colored people, and they were determined that there should not be." "Opposition at Jackson, Miss.," *The Freedmen's Record*, 1 #1 (12th mo. 1865): 9.

⁵² Dr. Nathan B. Hill, a member of the growing Quaker community at Minneapolis, Minnesota, assumed Elkanah Beard's former position as general agent for the Indiana Executive Committee on Freedmen on October 3, 1865. He served in the same capacity for the Friends' Board of Control. "Minutes of Executive Committee," *The Freedmen's Record*, 1 #1 (12th mo. 1865): 1, 2.

⁵³ Douglas, a member of Ohio Yearly Meeting from Wilmington, Ohio, informed the Indiana Executive Committee on Freedmen on October 3, 1865, of his desire to tour the relief operations in the Mississippi Valley. He accompanied Dr. Nathan B. Hill when the latter departed for the South in November. Letters written during his visit appeared in *The Freedmen's Record*, 1 #1 (12th mo. 1865): 4–5, 7, 11; *ibid.*, 1 #2 (1st mo. 1866): 6–7, 10.

⁵⁴ On September 5, 1865, Colonel Samuel Thomas, who had earlier assumed control of the Freedmen's Bureau in Mississippi, appointed Lieutenant Colonel Thomas B. Hood, MD, as his chief medical assistant. Hood's first task lay in securing suitable buildings for hospitals. In October 1865, the War Department transferred to the Freedmen's Bureau a number of buildings at Lauderdale that had been used by the Confederates under the name Lee and Forest Hospitals. Indiana Friends offered to purchase the land on which the buildings stood and hold them as long as needed. They renamed the complex Howard Hospital, after Freedmen's Bureau director O. O. Howard, and commenced work in February 1866. The staff included a superintendent and matron, two school teachers, and nine attendants, all of

whom were paid by the Quakers. "Col. Donaldson's Report," *The Freedmen's Record*, 1 #2 (1st mo. 1866): 11; Woods, "The Travail of Freedom," 57–76.

⁵⁵ The Beards agreed to take charge of the Lauderdale orphanage after an outbreak of cholera that killed seven children there, and scores of individuals at the nearby hospital, forced the staff to evacuate in July. Indiana Yearly Meeting, *Minutes*, 1867, 8.

⁵⁶ By 1867, the orphanage at Lauderdale housed twenty-seven female children, and the hospital as many as ninety at a time. Overall, the venture proved a failure. The poor condition of the buildings and lack of basic facilities led to a mortality rate as high as 32 percent in the hospital. Wood, "The Travail of Freedom," 72–76. Friends washed their hands of the orphanage in 1868, when it was "given up . . . to the Freedmen's Bureau, with the use of the Farm, Buildings, etc., for the present, on account of the want of means to carry it on; it is continued as the Asylum for that State, having over one hundred inmates; the officer in charge appears very desirous to do his duty, and the property is being improved." Indiana Yearly Meeting, *Minutes*, 1868, 41.

⁵⁷ Alvan Cullem Gillem (1830–1875), a graduate of West Point, divided his time during the war between commanding troops in the field and reorganizing the state government of his native Tennessee. In January 1868, he was appointed commander of the Fourth Military District (Mississippi and Arkansas) under President Johnson's Reconstruction plan. Warner, *Generals in Blue*, 175–176.

⁵⁸ As early as 1865, John Butler visited the Mississippi Valley on behalf of the Ohio Yearly Meeting's "Executive Committee for the Relief of Freedmen." See the annual report of the Executive Committee to the 1865 Ohio Yearly Meeting, reprinted in *Friends Review* 19 #10 (11th mo. 4, 1865): 154–155.

⁵⁹ In 1869, three communities of Quakers in eastern Tennessee comprised Lost Creek Quarterly Meeting, then a constituent member of North Carolina Yearly Meeting of Friends. Stephen B. Weeks, *Southern Quakers and Slavery* [Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Vol. 15] (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1896), 251–254, 308–309.

⁶⁰ It had been a busy season for Beard. The Executive Committee reported that during the spring, "Elkanah Beard visited the schools at Nashville, Tenn., Macon, Columbus, Jackson, Beard's Lease [*sic*], Vicksburg, Miss., also inspected the condition of our property at Lauderdale, Miss., visited the schools at Little Rock and Helena, Ark., and held religious Meetings amongst

the Freedmen. . . ." Indiana Yearly Meeting, *Minutes*, 1869, 39.

⁶¹ During the Reconstruction era, almost fifteen hundred African Americans held public office throughout the South. Mississippi claimed the second highest number of black officials (226) in the region, including two U. S. senators, two speakers of the state House, and a lieutenant governor. Arkansas counted among the lowest number (46); the most prominent black official there obtained the position of state Superintendent of Education. Eric Foner, *Freedom's Lawmakers: A Directory of Black Officeholders during Reconstruction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), xiv, xvi.

⁶² In 1867, Quakers supported nine teachers in Arkansas. Randy Finley, *From Slavery to Uncertain Freedom: The Freedmen's Bureau in Arkansas, 1865–1869* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1996), 135–136.

⁶³ During the first half of 1868, several African Americans attached to Southland College near Helena requested membership in the Society of Friends. A preparative (subordinate) meeting was established at Southland in 1868, receiving full monthly meeting status a year and a half later. Kennedy, "The Rise and Decline of a Black Monthly Meeting," 120–121.

Book Review

Mekeel Arthur J., *The Quakers and the American Revolution*. York, England: Sessions Book Trust, 1996. x + 420 pages, illustrations, appendices, bibliography, index. Paper £16.90.

Originally published as *The Relation of the Quakers to the American Revolution* (1979), this edition in an attractive format has minor text revisions and updated sources. This readable study of the relationship of Quakers to the imperial crisis and the Revolutionary War began as a dissertation that was completed in 1940 and that was so comprehensive and thorough in research that the conclusions have not changed over the past half-century. The focus of the work is the Pennsylvania Quaker community that was the largest and most influential group of Friends in colonial North America, but also included are the actions and attitudes of Friends in all of the colonies. The context of the book is mainstream Quaker scholarship that assumes that Friends in Philadelphia and Pennsylvania set the course for all North American Friends. In fact, although there was a Quaker network centered in Philadelphia, throughout the colonial period the ties with London Friends were equally strong. As the author points out, the severing of these ties with British Friends was an important consequence of the Revolution.

From the onset of the imperial crisis with colonial opposition to the Stamp Act and the Townshend Duties, Quakers were involved and remained so until the movement that had essentially been protesting the abrogation of English rights accelerated into a violent rupture of the colonies from the mother country. In the early stages the British Friends through the London Meeting for Sufferings sought to no avail to defuse the crisis. Complicating the situation in Pennsylvania was the internal power struggle for control of the assembly between the proprietary and anti-proprietary Quaker factions.

A spiritual people who chose to live in the world, Friends throughout the Revolutionary era were troubled by their natural conservative penchant for “rendering unto Caesar” until government became oppressive. Then, as now, there was a wide spectrum of individual response toward the Revolution.

Conscientious objection was recognized in the colonies, but Quakers found that even in Pennsylvania they would be penalized with burdensome taxes unless they provided substitutes for military service. Certainly, pacifist responses to war and passive resistance to war taxes and the draft have a contemporary ring. On the other side of the issue, over 2,300 Quakers were disciplined for various levels of support of the war, including military service, and some 1,700 of these cases led to disownment, over half of them in Pennsylvania alone.

Philadelphia, the seat of the Continental Congress and the unofficial capital of the colonies, had a wealthy Quaker merchant class that might have had a major influence on the new government; but in 1776 with war looming, the Quakers chose neutrality which at times was interpreted as loyalism bordering on treason. To eighteenth-century Friends, neutrality seemed the proper “third way”; but the effect was that the Society of Friends, which had been in the colonial era an important political and social force, was marginalized and has remained so to this day. Quakers in all the colonies endeavored to be nonpartisan and as a result endured persecution and abuse. Their response was to mount relief efforts, and often on battlefields they were called upon to succor the wounded from both sides and bury the dead.

This significant study, which has already stood the test of time, is an important contribution to scholarship of the Revolution and sheds light on a pivotal era that was a turning point in the history of the Society of Friends. The tragedy of their turning away from the world in 1776 is that the peculiar people called Friends became irrelevant to the most compassionate and revolutionary political, constitutional, and social experiment in history. Temporarily Friends retained their spiritual integrity, but in the long term the country is poorer for having lost until modern times the influence of their values at the center of power.

Lindley S. Butler
Wentworth, NC

Announcement

*12th Biennial Conference of
Quaker Historians and Archivists
Baltimore Monthly Meeting of Friends,
Stony Run 5116 North Charles Street,
Baltimore, MD
Phone: 410-435-3773; Fax: 410-435-3779
19-21 June 1998*

*Registration information available at the address above.
Anyone interested in Quaker history is welcome.*

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1997–98

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NUMBER 2

T. Gilbert Pearson

OLIVER ORR

Godfather of Southern Quaker Revivalism?

Francis T. King of Baltimore and

Post-Civil War North Carolina Friends

DAMON D. HICKEY

Friends Historical Collection

Annual Report, 1997-1998

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Editorial Policy

The editors welcome articles on any aspect of the history of Friends in the Southeast. Articles must be well written and properly documented. All copy should be typed double-space, and should conform to the most recent edition of *The Chicago Manual of Style* and Kate L. Turabian's *A Manual for Writers of Term Papers, Theses, and Dissertations*. The author-date form of referencing is preferred. See section 15:4ff in *Chicago Manual*. Articles and correspondence should be addressed to Carole E. Treadway, Hege Library, Guilford College, 5800 West Friendly Avenue, Greensboro, NC 27410-4175.

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"Friends' Meeting House at New Garden, North Carolina, 1869. Erected in 1791." Lithograph by John Collins. Courtesy of the Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College.

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T. Gilbert Pearson

By

Oliver Orr

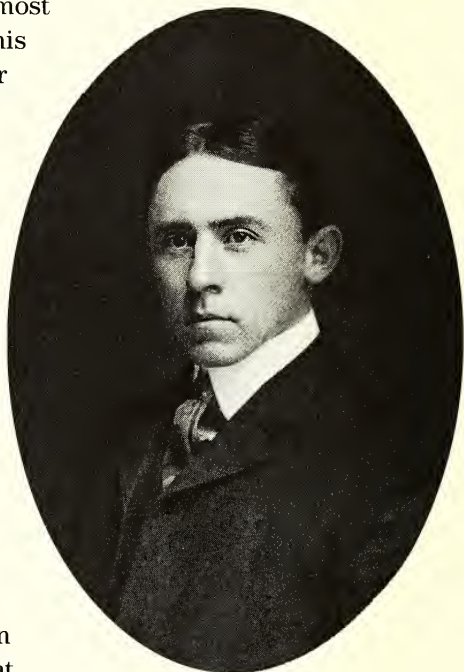
Today we honor a Guilford graduate and faculty member whom we will also consider a North Carolinian, Thomas Gilbert Pearson, better known as T. Gilbert Pearson, called Gilbert, Gill or Gillie by his friends. He was born in Tuscola, Illinois, in 1873 and moved to Archer, Florida with his family when he was eight. In 1891 he enrolled at Guilford College and graduated in 1897. He returned to teach biology for two years from 1899 to 1901. He lived in Greensboro for another ten years after that while he taught at the Industrial State Normal College for women, and now the University of North Carolina at Greensboro. He married a Greensboro girl and began his remarkable career in the Audubon movement in this city. He referred openly to North Carolina as his adopted state. After he died in New York, his remains were returned to Greensboro for burial. It seems appropriate, therefore, to claim him as a North Carolinian.

It was in Archer, Florida that Gilbert Pearson taught himself to be a scientist. The Pearson family and several other Quaker farm families were lured to Archer by boosters and developers who assured them that they

Oliver Orr is a retired specialist in American history, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, and a longtime member of the National Audubon Society. He is the author of *Charles Brantley Aycock, Saving American Birds: T. Gilbert Pearson and the Founding of the Audubon Movement*, and co-author of *A Guide to the Study of the United States of America*. This paper, delivered at Guilford College on December 5, 1997, is a modified version of a paper delivered at Archer, Florida in November 1997. It was presented in conjunction with an exhibit in the Guilford College Library, honoring the one-hundredth anniversary of Pearson's graduation from Guilford College.

could get rich by growing oranges. The weather, unfortunately, defeated them. A series of freezes killed the orange trees, and the dreams of wealth faded.

Many of the Quaker families moved on, but the Pearsons remained, the parents and five children, of whom Gilbert was by far the youngest. He was almost eighteen years younger than his brother and twelve years younger than the youngest of his three sisters. His youth and size—he was small for his age—probably worked to his advantage in the family. As he grew older and it became clear that he liked birds and other wildlife more than anything else, he was allowed to indulge himself in his interests. He often avoided farm chores and sometimes played hookie from school in order to look for bird nests.



T. Gilbert Pearson as young man

He never did gain much in stature. Group photographs taken in his mature years have shown that he could not have been more than five foot two, at the most. His family apparently looked upon him as childlike until he left home for college. His parents perhaps never changed in attitude. Several years later, Pearson's father, old and bearded, visited a class Pearson was teaching and at one point interrupted him. A drawing Pearson had put on the blackboard was inaccurate, the old man said. He walked to the board and made a change. A student in the class later wrote that Pearson was right and his father was wrong, but Pearson was polite and deferential. "Thank thee, Father," he said. "Thee has made the matter much plainer."

Pearson wrote in his autobiography* that many people in Archer pitied

* *Adventures in Bird Protection: An Autobiography*. New York, London: Appleton-Century, 1937.

his parents for having a son who showed no interest in farming and who wasted his time collecting bird eggs and the skins of birds and other animals. Only one other young person shared his interests and the local druggist's wife helped him write, at age fourteen, his first article for publication in a journal for young ornithologists. And his father let him take a horse, sometimes a horse and wagon, on long trips to the still undeveloped countryside to collect specimens. Soon he had assembled a sizeable private museum. To his mother, his bedroom must have often seemed a dirty, smelly mess. In fact, the boy himself must have often been a dirty smelly mess, especially when he returned from several days in the fields, woods, swamps, and lakes, dressed in the clothes he had worn the whole time and carrying oozing skins and bloodied carcasses.

The public schools of Archer, which rarely had a well-qualified teacher, did little to train young Gilbert's mind, but his parents and the Society of Friends disciplined him with religious studies and encouraged him to use passionate language. Later in life, he was comfortable with being emotional when he talked and wrote about birds and nature. His colleagues acknowledged him to be the most charismatic speaker of his time on the subject of birds. It is doubtful that he has yet been equaled.

At age eighteen, Pearson decided he needed to go to college if he wanted to make a living as a field naturalist or a biologist. He had no money, so he offered each of several institutions his museum for a term of schooling. Guilford College, headed by Lewis Lyndon Hobbs, was the only college willing to admit him. Pearson was allowed to trade his collection of specimens and his services as a curator of the college museum for his education. This arrangement lasted six years, six rather than four because his inadequate schooling in Archer made it necessary for him to spend two years in Guilford's preparatory program.

Although he was deficient in traditional studies, he was advanced in ornithology. He knew enough about birds to be admitted into the American Ornithologists' Union, or AOU, the parent of the Audubon movement. He was then in fellowship with the men who had converted bird study into a science and who were deeply concerned about what was happening to bird populations. From AOU publications Pearson discovered that American birds were being destroyed at an appalling rate. Game birds—that is, the birds most suitable for eating—were reasonably well protected by state laws, but nearly all nongame birds, by far the majority of the almost nine hundred bird species found in America, could be killed by anybody, anytime, anywhere. The poorest people ate birds of any species. Sparrows, vireos, and warblers

appeared in food markets along with game birds. Millions of birds, Pearson learned, were killed each year for the millinery industry. By the 1880s almost every woman's hat in America was decorated with wild bird feathers. There were single feathers. There were egret plumes. There were whole tern wings. Sometimes there were as many as five or six entire bird bodies on large, heavy hats.

Pearson also learned that birds have value far beyond their beauty and charm. They pollinate plants; they spread seeds; and in those days before the use of modern chemicals, they were regarded as essential in controlling pests that damage crops and trees.

The situation was desperate. Bird populations were being rapidly depleted and some species of egrets and terns were almost extinct. The AOU bird protection committee had already composed a model law to protect nongame birds and was trying to find new ways of persuading state legislatures to adopt it.

Pearson was not yet ready to work for legislation. He was content to try to change people's behavior through education. Over the next few years, as he went though Guilford College, earned another degree at the University of North Carolina, and then returned to Guilford as a faculty member, he created opportunities to teach ornithology. He also published articles and made speeches, and he exhibited bird eggs and mounted birds at fairs and expositions, including the 1893 Chicago World's Fair. He developed the Guilford "natural history cabinet" into the largest such museum in the state at the time. His bird eggs constituted what was believed to be the largest collection in the South.

In his youth, Pearson was much more interested in what was morally right than in what was economically beneficial. Rather than emphasizing that birds should be protected because of their value to agriculture and forestry, he called for getting to know birds for religious reasons. Being closer to nature was a way of being closer to God. When God gave human beings dominion over the earth, he expected us to be stewards of the earth. We can use the lower species of life, but we are responsible for keeping those species alive. In Pearson's mind, apparently, God's instruction to Noah "to keep seed alive" on the ark was to be followed by human beings from then on. Pearson believed it is morally wrong to kill birds for frivolous purposes and far more wrong to push an entire species to extinction. He thought that Christian women who encouraged the killing of birds so that they might wear feathers in their hats were engaged in sinful behavior.

Later, as the United States Biological Survey, another AOU offspring, produced study after study affirming the role of birds in destroying pests inimical to farm crops. Pearson, like other AOU and Audubon leaders, began to stress that “our friends” the birds, to use his language, must be protected, because we need their help in providing food and shelter for ourselves.

Several chapters of Pearson’s first book, *Stories of Bird Life*,* published two months after he had begun teaching at what is now the State Normal College, are based on field observations in and around Guilford County. Soon after its publication, he received a letter from William Dutcher, AOU bird protection committee chairman, who had read the book. In the 1880s the committee had founded its first Audubon Society, a bird protection organization with a national membership, but it had failed. The committee subsequently appropriated an idea from two women in Massachusetts and began organizing state societies, each to try to get its respective legislature to adopt some form of the AOU model law protecting nongame birds. This approach was working well. Dutcher asked Pearson to organize an Audubon Society in North Carolina that might persuade the state legislature to adopt the model law.

By the time Pearson complied in 1902, there were Audubon societies in thirty states. Under the joint influence of the Audubon societies and AOU lobbyists, seventeen states had adopted some form of the model law. In addition, the National Committee of Audubon Societies was established, and William Dutcher, who had already taken charge of the burgeoning Audubon societies, was elected the Audubon committee chairman. Pearson was appointed to the National Committee and the AOU bird protection committee.

Pearson persuaded the North Carolina legislature to adopt the model law in modified form and to authorize the Audubon Society to enforce the state’s bird and game laws. He thereby was responsible for the creation of the first state wildlife commission in a southern state.

When the National Association of Audubon Societies for the Protection of Wild Birds and Animals was incorporated in New York in 1905 as the successor to the National Committee of Audubon Societies, Dutcher was elected president, a part-time position without compensation, and Pearson was given two compensated jobs: secretary of the National Association and special agent to raise money. Now holding three Audubon positions, he was the first full-time executive for the society in the nation.

* *Stories of Bird Life*. Richmond, VA: B. F. Johnson, 1901.

Five years later, Dutcher had a disabling stroke and Pearson was named executive officer of the national association. He resigned from the Audubon Society of North Carolina and moved his family to New York. When Dutcher died in 1920, Pearson was elected the association's first full-time president. He held the position until 1934, thereby completing a period of Audubon leadership that is still the longest in the organization's history.

Pearson's major accomplishments while he headed the National Association are many. He played an important role in shaping the terms of the 1916 Migratory Bird Treaty between the United States and Great Britain to protect birds migrating between the United States and Canada. State laws, on which so much hope had been placed, had failed to protect birds adequately. The treaty helped greatly by transferring from the states to the national government the responsibility for protecting many bird species. For twenty years thereafter, Pearson served on the board that advised on the treaty's implementation.

Pearson made a special effort to draw young people into the Audubon movement. By the time he retired, membership in the Junior Audubon Societies had risen to more than five million.

He succeeded in getting refuges and sanctuaries created for birds. The work of the National Committee on Wildlife Legislation was especially important. Pearson founded and chaired the committee as it helped him push through Congress legislation that ultimately enabled the U. S. government to acquire more than a million acres for waterfowl refuges.

His *Birds of North Carolina*,* written in collaboration with two eminent North Carolina naturalists, was the first illustrated manual of the birds in a southern state. Originally published in 1919, it has been revised twice and remains a useful compendium of information and the source of interesting narratives of bird study. Pearson was also editor-in-chief of the monumental *Birds of America*,* published in 1917 in three volumes. It was illustrated by the best bird artists of the time and is still rewarding, even inspiring, to use.

In his effort to save birds everywhere in the world, he founded in England the International Council for Bird Preservation and served as its president for several years after retiring from the National Association. It survives today as the International Council for Bird Preservation, a federation of

* *Birds of North Carolina*, by T. Gilbert Pearson, C. S. Brimley, and H. H. Brimley. Raleigh: Edwards & Broughton, 1919; *Birds of America*, T. Gilbert Pearson ed.-in-chief. Garden City, NY: Garden City Books, 1936.



organizations representing more than ten million people in one hundred countries.

Overall, the Audubon movement protected the lives of millions of birds in the United States and abroad and rescued several species from the brink of extinction.

Pearson was not uniformly successful in his undertakings. When he retired in 1934, he did so under pressure. A controversy over his management of an Audubon sanctuary had arisen, and he was too tired and too set in his ways to resolve it. Nonetheless, his achievements were widely recognized. The University of North Carolina gave him an honorary degree. The governments of Luxembourg and France decorated him. He won the John Burroughs Medal for Conservation. After he died in 1943, the board of directors of the National Audubon Society, then the new name of the National Association, praised him as the “guiding genius” and “chief builder” of the Audubon movement.

An important part of the modern environmental movement is the global effort to save earth’s biological diversity. Insofar as I have been able to determine, the Audubon people under Pearson’s leadership did more to lay the foundation for that effort than any other group. True, they had little to say

about plant life, but we humans were not numerous enough then to jeopardize the existence of plant species as we do now. In speaking for birds, Pearson spoke for a large segment of life forms then known to be in danger.

He preached moral responsibility and the old-fashioned conservative dictum: waste not, want not. He was fully aware of our indebtedness to wild things and the possibility of further uses to which we can put them if, with our numbers increasing, we do not push them off the earth.

We do not need Pearson to tell us how we have depended on wild plants and animals for our existence. We have drawn upon them for food to eat, houses to live in, clothing to wear, medicines to take, and the inspiration of artistic, technological, and intellectual achievement. Take a deep breath. Who gave you that oxygen? It did not come from Wal-Mart or L. L. Bean. It certainly did not come from General Motors. It cannot be obtained through the Internet. Most of it came, and still comes, from the wild green plants that grow on land and in the water. In short, we owe the wild things our lives and a great part of our civilization. Without them, none of us would be here today. If we continue at the present rate to deprive them of places to perpetuate themselves, we will certainly impoverish our lives; in the long run, we may even lose them. So take a little time now and then to remember a Guilford College boy named T. Gilbert Pearson and his determination to "keep seed alive." Honor him by some deed in behalf of his cause. In so doing, you will be helping all humanity. There are not many causes of which that can be said.

Note: An exhibit of many of Pearson's mounted birds is on display in the Hege Library of Guilford College through the fall of 1999.

Godfather of Southern Quaker Revivalism?

Francis T. King of Baltimore and Post-Civil War North Carolina Friends

By

Damon D. Hickey

In *The Transformation of American Quakerism: Orthodox Friends, 1800–1907*, Thomas D. Hamm distinguishes between two movements among post-Civil War Orthodox Gurneyite Friends: the renewal movement and the revival. According to Hamm, the two movements shared an interest “in evangelism and bringing new life to meetings. Both were committed to evangelicalism.” But the renewal Friends

wished to modify the plain life, to loosen the rules on marriage, to encourage more participation in meetings while maintaining their traditional character, and to work with other denominations while preserving the distinctiveness of Friends.

Revival Friends, on the other hand, wanted to

smash the plain life and the assumptions behind it, to sweep away the marriage regulations as unchristian, to demand participation in meetings instead of encouraging it, to dismiss silence completely, and to use whatever methods produced converts, regardless of their origins or effect.¹

Damon Hickey is librarian of the College of Wooster and former curator of the Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College. He is the author of numerous articles that have appeared in *The Southern Friend*, and of *Sojourners No More: The Quakers in the New South, 1865–1920*. This paper was delivered in Baltimore, Maryland on June 19, 1998 at the Conference of Quaker Historians and Archivists.

Hamm argues also that Baltimore Yearly Meeting was the “one [Gurneyite] yearly meeting that resisted the revival.” So successful were the Baltimore reformers that “The revivalists, save for an occasional incursion from Ohio Yearly Meeting, gave Baltimore a wide berth.”² Hamm identifies Francis T. King of Baltimore as both a reform leader and an opponent of revivalism.

Yet this same Francis T. King hired and encouraged a revivalist preacher, Allen Jay, to head the educational reconstruction program among North Carolina Friends after the Civil War. Why? Was King unaware of Jay’s strong sympathies with the revival movement? Or did he believe that what was bad for Baltimore might be good for North Carolina? This paper will try to suggest the most likely answers.

Francis T. King modeled his life on that of his father and of British Friend Joseph John Gurney. King’s father, a Baltimore Quaker businessman, retired from a prosperous business when he had acquired the sum he had marked out early in his business career, and gave the last 30 years of his life to the church and benevolent and educational work....I have thought that it must have been a covenant he had made early in life with his Lord....

As a young man newly in business himself, Francis King met Joseph John Gurney,

an eminent Minister of the Society of Friends from England, a scholar and writer, a leading banker, one of the most attractive, yet dignified, men I had ever met....

His strong, beautiful life attracted me to him at once, and he most kindly made a companion of me....

As a result of Gurney’s influence, King underwent what some later Quakers would call a conversion experience:

I felt that I must at once make a full acknowledgment of my allegiance to the Lord and openly confess Him before man in the usual way at that day by Friends: by a change of dress and the use of “thee” and “thou” in conversation.³

King, like his father, resolved to retire from business as soon as he achieved financial success and to devote himself to benevolent work, following in the footsteps of both his father and Gurney. He became a leader in the Orthodox (Homewood) Baltimore monthly and yearly meetings. A graduate of the first class at Haverford, he became the first president of the Board of Trustees of Bryn Mawr College. In his will, his friend Johns Hopkins named King the first president of the Johns Hopkins Hospital board. His many religious and benevolent endeavors included work on behalf of Native Americans, education and assistance for the freedmen in Baltimore County,



Francis T. King

the reconstruction of southern Quakerism, especially in North Carolina, and many other causes.⁴ According to Allen Jay, King was at one time president, vice president, trustee, or director of “over a dozen benevolent institutions and Christian organizations.”⁵ He had entree into the halls of power; meeting with both presidents Lincoln and Grant. He traveled widely, speaking and raising funds on behalf of his causes. In one of his letters he joked that a Baltimore Friend had suggested that he apply to his meeting for an occasional “minute,” or letter of endorsement, to stay at home, rather than to travel.⁶

It is with King's work in North Carolina that we are concerned principally here. That story has been told in detail elsewhere, most recently in my book, *Sojourners No More: The Quakers in the New South, 1865–1920*.⁷ For those not familiar with the story already, perhaps a brief sketch will suffice. The reconstruction of southern Quakerism began before the end of the Civil War as an effort to provide material aid to southern Quaker refugees who were fleeing the ravages of war, particularly the “scorched earth” policy of General Sherman. Long before the war, southern Friends had been moving to Ohio, Indiana, and Iowa, partly to escape slavery and partly to find better land for farming. The aftermath of war—which had impoverished many and denied education to a generation—threatened to empty the South of its Friends. Francis King and others jumped at the opportunity to halt the emigration through a combination of material aid, education, economic development (primarily “scientific” agriculture and sound business practices), rebuilding of meetinghouses, and evangelism. The organization founded to oversee these activities was called the Baltimore Association to Advise and Assist Friends in the Southern States, of which Francis King was president. Its activities were confined to the Quaker community. A parallel effort undertaken by Philadelphia Friends and others worked with the freedmen.

Ranging widely for support throughout the United States and Great Britain (including Ireland), the Baltimore Association produced spectacular success, establishing a statewide school system for Quaker children, increasing the number of primary schools from six hundred to three thousand, and enrolling five thousand children statewide in First-Day (Sunday) schools as well. In all, the association raised \$72,000 for primary schools and \$23,000 for North Carolina Yearly Meeting's boarding school at New Garden, eventually helping it make the transition to secondary-school and then to college status. (The total translates into more than one million 1997 dollars—a significant amount in the badly-depressed postwar southern economy.) The association also inaugurated an annual “normal” school program during the summer to train teachers, and a model farm and agricultural store near High Point, with a farmer-manager who provided low-cost seed, livestock, and fertilizer and taught Quaker farmers how to increase their crop yields and to conserve their land.⁸

But it is the association's evangelistic work that is the focus of this paper. In one sense, evangelism was merely a byproduct of the Baltimore Association's educational work, because it was carried out by their education superintendents. But in another sense, it was fundamental to everything

else the association did. In 1860, there were only about two thousand Friends in North Carolina Yearly Meeting, and that number had declined further by the end of the war. Even by mid-nineteenth century American standards, two thousand people for an entire state the size of North Carolina was a small population indeed—only about one Friend for every twenty-six square miles of the state. By 1881, as a result of evangelistic efforts, it had more than doubled, to five thousand—still a relatively small number, but large enough to make the Quakers a viable religious society in the state and to provide the basis for continued growth.⁹

How was this growth accomplished? Joseph Moore, an Indiana Quaker minister, scientist, and educator, was appointed the association's second education superintendent in 1866. Moore traveled throughout North Carolina setting up schools, hiring and training teachers, and preaching. At least one response to his preaching has survived. Mary Mendenhall, daughter of the boarding school's principal teacher and later wife of the college's first president, recalled that Moore's message

came as the balm of healing and the oil of joy. I was young and it seemed to me he had a different kind of God from what had become to me a kind of spy God....

I had decided that I myself was a small lump of iniquity, and that the great God was against me, because I liked fun and pretty things and music. Joseph Moore's teaching changed this feeling.¹⁰

Francis King, writing to Irish Quaker donor Samuel Bewley, compared Moore's evangelism to that of Irish Quaker William Edmundson, who had preceded Quaker founder George Fox to Carolina in 1672: "It was the Lord's work *then* & we believe it to be his *now*."¹¹

Moore's preaching, which did result in converts, was but the prologue to his successor's. Allen Jay became the Baltimore Association's education superintendent in 1868. A Buckeye-turned-Hoosier, he was, like Moore, to have a long association both with the Carolina Friends and with Earlham College in Indiana. Jay's evangelistic background is important, both because it was indicative of what was to come and because it was almost certainly known to Francis King when he employed Jay to work in the South. Jay traced his own beginnings in revivalism to his experience as a First-Day school teacher in Greenfield, Indiana, where he had led Bible study and prayer meetings.¹² (In North Carolina he would encourage his teachers to engage in just this sort of evangelism.) As a member of Western Yearly Meeting he had participated in revivals that sowed the seeds of division there:

One side, in a spirit of revival, held prayer meetings at night in private homes during yearly meeting, the evangelists having altars of prayer and condemning publicly those who did not unite with them, introducing singing and forcing those who did not believe in it to hear or leave the house....I was a member of the yearly meeting at that time, enjoyed the revival movement and remember how determined we were to save souls, not thinking of those we might injure in the attempt or how we might cripple the Church and mar the harmony by pressing our views too fast.¹³

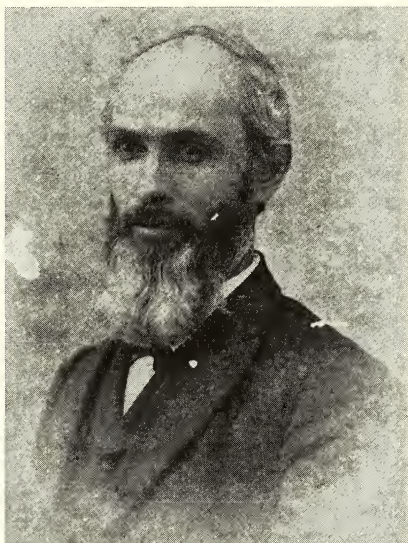
Jay learned from this experience, so that by the time he went to North Carolina he was determined not to press his views or his program of conversion to the point of alienating more traditional Friends. But there can be little doubt that he remained a revivalist at heart. Curiously, Thomas Hamm names him as a leader of the renewal movement in Western Yearly Meeting, where he was an avowed revivalist, and as a revivalist leader in North Carolina Yearly Meeting, where he was a more moderate figure.¹⁴

Doubtless there were many beginnings of revivalism among North Carolina Friends, and Allen Jay's was not the only influence at work. But he can certainly be credited or blamed (depending upon one's perspective) with being the father of southern Quaker revivalism. Not only did he open the door to revivalism among southern Friends; he also moderated its impact: "I took part in some of that kind of labor which was blessed, but always with the feeling that it should never be carried further than the leaders of the meeting could go with me."¹⁵ His opening came when a group of young Friends from Springfield chose to attend a revival meeting at the Methodists' Trinity College in Archdale. Aiming to "save our young people to our own church," Jay and his wife joined them, thereby giving their blessing to the methods and the conversions, despite the fact that some Friends in the area had forbidden their children to attend. Thereafter, Jay asked permission of the Springfield Meeting to hold revival services in the meeting itself. This revival continued for ten days, growing in numbers, and resulting in the addition of thirty people to the rolls of the meeting. Later, Jay organized an ecumenical revival in High Point, resulting in fifty more converts who became the nucleus of a new Friends meeting in that city.¹⁶

The yearly meeting responded to these stirrings in its midst by appointing a Committee on General Meetings in 1870, in order to raise the spirit of Friends and to enliven their regular worship.¹⁷ The concept of the general meeting went back to the origins of Quakerism in England in the late 1600s, when such meetings were appointed to present the Quaker message to the unconvinced. In the 1870s they became again instruments of evangelism, and then of revivalism, throughout the American Gurneyite Orthodox meetings.

In fact, many of these meetings came to provide protective Quaker coloration for just the sort of interdenominational revival meeting that Jay organized in High Point.¹⁸

Although North Carolina Friends continued on a course of moderate revivalism that may be attributed in large part to the influence of Allen Jay, it can hardly be denied that, in selecting him as its education superintendent, the Baltimore Association was almost guaranteeing that revivalism would indeed come to North Carolina Friends. If Francis King of Baltimore was a leading opponent of revivalism at home, why did he welcome into this home-mission field someone whom he knew to be committed to it?



Allen Jay

The King correspondence and memoirs that I have read give little help in answering this question. There is his previously quoted letter to Samuel Bewley in Ireland, claiming evangelism as the proper work of the Baltimore Association in North Carolina, as it had been of early Irish Quaker evangelist William Edmundson.¹⁹ But that statement is neither radical nor surprising coming from King, who, as a leading member of Baltimore's renewal movement, was committed to both evangelism and evangelicalism. Indeed, King's own experience of conversion under the influence of Joseph John Gurney was similar to those of younger Orthodox Friends, often resulting from the preaching of a particularly charismatic and "prophetic" visiting Quaker minister whose message managed to speak directly to the young Friend's condition.

What set such experiences apart from those induced by revivalism was the atmosphere of a traditional Friends meeting versus that of a highly-charged interdenominational revival meeting. Traditional Friends ministers did not usually sing, shout, or howl. They did not appeal for mass conversions, or ask people to come to a mourners' bench or an altar of prayer. Their services did not go on for days on end. They did not introduce the new theology of Holiness Methodism, with its second experience of complete holiness, in which the believer was supposedly delivered from the ability to

sin. And their conversions were not signified by the abandonment of Quaker plain speech and dress—in fact, quite the opposite.

Jay's preaching did not include all of the doctrinal elements of Holiness revivalism or some of its more extreme emotional techniques. In fact, Jay suffered from a serious speech impediment: a cleft palate. He sounded so odd that young people often laughed when he first spoke. Nevertheless, Francis King remarked that he was

...one of the best baptising preachers I ever heard. He can draw the largest crowds I ever saw in that state. There is a charm in his voice after you hear him a few times & get used to it. Best of all he is as simple and loving as a child, with all his force of character.²⁰

Despite these departures from the revivalist norm, Jay's evangelism nevertheless took place in the context of mass meetings, often interdenominational, that deliberately sought to create a spiritual crisis in the lives of listeners in order to bring them to repentance and conversion. And Jay's sanctioning of revivalism among Quakers in the state opened the door to other revivalists who were more extreme than he, and who would not have set foot in Baltimore Yearly Meeting because of the opposition of Francis King and others there. Eventually these revivalists drove a wedge between North Carolina's renewal-minded Quaker traditionalists, especially in Eastern Quarterly Meeting, and others in the yearly meeting who favored more extreme Holiness revivalism. Ironically, these moderate renewalists in Eastern Quarterly Meeting considered in 1888 disaffiliating from North Carolina and joining Baltimore Yearly Meeting, probably because by that time the different effects of the renewal movement in Baltimore and the revival in North Carolina was becoming clearer.²¹ But they decided to remain with North Carolina Yearly Meeting and ultimately formed the nucleus of a Conservative yearly meeting in 1902–1904.

And so, once again, why did Francis King, leader of the renewal movement in Baltimore, install an education superintendent in North Carolina who would open the door to revivalism? There are two possible answers:

1. King did not realize that Jay was committed to revivalism and thought that he would continue the kind of traditional Gurneyite evangelism practiced by Joseph Moore; or
2. King knew that Jay was committed to revivalism, but decided that North Carolina Quakerism needed new life and more members in order to survive. He may have thought that North Carolina, with its close ties to midwestern Friends, would feel the impact of revivalism eventually, and

decided that Jay's brand of revivalism would be preferable to that of the more extreme Holiness revivalists. And King may have decided that what was not acceptable to Baltimore Friends was all right for North Carolina Friends.

Although I cannot find any evidence to confirm or deny that Francis King knew about Jay's earlier involvement with revivalism, it seems unlikely that anyone as prominent or as well-connected in the Society of Friends as King, or as thorough as his Baltimore Association correspondence shows him to have been, would not have checked very carefully before making this key appointment. In the affairs of the Baltimore Association, King always checked with people who were in a position to know those who were requesting aid, in order to determine whether the request was legitimate and whether the money would be used well. As a successful businessman, he certainly understood the importance of checking references and hiring the right person for the job.

There can be little doubt that King realized the importance of building up numbers of Friends in the South. As his remark to Samuel Bewley indicates, he had no qualms about using evangelism to increase membership. It is unclear whether King believed that revivalism would come in some form to North Carolina Quakerism, and deliberately chose Jay to be its father because he knew Jay would promote a milder variety. Regardless, King's choice of Jay did have precisely that effect. Because Jay was concerned not to offend traditionalist Friends, he introduced revivalism to North Carolina in a way that did not split the yearly meeting until many years later. Indeed, one could argue that the division was as much a result of the adoption of the Uniform Discipline in 1902 and the centralization of control of the ministry that it gave the yearly meeting, as it was a result of the revivals of the 1870s and 1880s.

The nagging question is whether King deliberately applied a double standard—one for sophisticated Baltimore Friends and another for ignorant and impoverished North Carolina Friends—when it came to revivalism. As Baltimore Association president, King wrote concerning the distribution of aid by Philadelphia Friends to Friends in eastern Tennessee, who were even poorer than those in North Carolina: "Our rich city friends are struck with the apparent poverty of the poorer class in the country—while these dear friends are often happier & better off than we are."²² The material well-being that was sauce for the Philadelphia ganders might be poison for the Tennessee geese. Could it not also be that the revivalism that was sauce for the North Carolina geese might be poison for the Baltimore ganders?

King's letter to Samuel Bewley also echoes the words of countless missionaries describing the supposedly happy, simple, childlike natives of some far-off land. Many of his letters suggest that he viewed the southern Friends as children who could be spoiled easily if their corporate parent proved too openhanded. Rather, they had to be taught discipline and self-reliance. Had he been president of a twentieth-century philanthropic foundation, King would have preferred to give matching grants and seed grants, rather than full grants. Had he been an administrator of public-assistance programs, King would probably have favored mandatory vocational training and work requirements as the condition for receiving welfare payments. Throughout its work, the Baltimore Association adhered to his principle that "home work is better."²³ He and the association insisted that local Friends share the cost of all endeavors, whether educational or agricultural. He was concerned to develop work that would be locally self-sustaining in the shortest period of time. He discouraged direct handouts alone as destructive of self-reliance.²⁴ In general the association appropriated funds to assist in rebuilding meetinghouses only after all the work save the roofs had been completed by the meetings.²⁵ In short, he employed a centralized, top-down approach to reconstruction, but with shared financial responsibility from the very beginning, with the goal of turning the entire program, including both financial support and decision making, over to local people as quickly as possible.

This evidence suggests a definite paternalism and a touch of condescension, which is not surprising in a man of King's station and upbringing, and which may shed light on why he would open the door to revivalism among these Friends whom he considered, with good reason, to be less sophisticated than those in Baltimore. Clearly King, like other missionaries—whether at home or in foreign lands—viewed southern Friends as his metaphorical children. It is interesting that King described Jay also as being "simple and loving as a child." Perhaps he thought that Jay and Carolina Friends would be a good match precisely because they shared, in his mind at least, this childlike simplicity. But the evidence does not suggest that King wanted to keep these "children" at home and dependent upon the corporate father. Rather, he viewed them as fully capable of managing their own affairs if given the proper tools, training, and encouragement to become independent.

Were I a post-modern, post-critical deconstructionist, I would be inclined to label Francis King as a patriarchal white male capitalist whose real goal was to disempower southern Quakers (and probably southern blacks as

well) in order to keep them in a state of colonial dependency. But despite King's condescension and paternalism, I find this characterization hard to credit. King's goal was, in fact, to "elevate" southern Friends, to make them leaders of their own society, both spiritually and temporally, and to develop their economic independence and empowerment. The Baltimore Association kept tight control of the purse strings and the educational curriculum at first, but got itself out of the role of controller and provider as quickly as possible. If it had been King's goal to keep southern Friends dependent, he might have tried to discourage them from developing modes of religious expression that were uncomfortable to him—authoritarian fathers do not often encourage their children to take up forms of religious practice that they themselves dislike. By introducing revivalism, he helped Southern Friends to build up their numbers rapidly so that they could sustain themselves as a viable religious society more quickly. And by opening the door to revivalism among them, he encouraged religious pluralism, diversity, and self-determination within the Society of Friends, instead of trying to force others into the Baltimorean mode.

So take your pick: Francis T. King of Baltimore as patriarchal white southern hypocrite or Francis T. King as apostle of empowerment and cultural diversity. Either way, there can be little question that he was both the savior of southern Quakerism and the godfather of southern Quaker revivalism.

Notes

¹Thomas D. Hamm, *The Transformation of American Quakerism: Orthodox Friends, 1800–1907* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988), 96.

²Hamm, 97.

³Francis T. King, "Francis King (in his own hand)," typewritten transcription of AD, MS 322, Papers of Francis T. King, Special Collections and Archives, Milton S. Eisenhower Library, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, MD.

⁴Baltimore Monthly Meeting of Friends, *A Short Account of the Life of Francis T. King* (Baltimore: 1892); John C. Thomas, "The Baltimore Association of Friends," *The Friend* (Philadelphia) 101 (8.XIII.1927), 291–92.

⁵Jay, Allen, *Autobiography of Allen Jay*, (Philadelphia: John C. Winston, 1908), 176.

⁶Francis T. King to Samuel Bewley, 12.IV.1870, microfilm copy of ALS, Papers of the Baltimore Association of Friends to Advise and Assist Friends in the Southern States, Friends Historical Collection, Hege Library, Guilford College, Greensboro, NC.

⁷Damon D. Hickey, *Sojourners No More: The Quakers in the New South, 1865–1920* (Greensboro: North Carolina Friends Historical Society, North Carolina Yearly Meeting, 1997), 15–34.

⁸Ibid.

⁹Ibid.

¹⁰Mary Mendenhall Hobbs, “Baltimore Association,” *The Friend* (Philadelphia) 97 (9.VIII—1.IX.1923): 185.

¹¹King to Samuel Bewley, 12.IV.1868, Papers of the Baltimore Association.

¹²Jay, 81

¹³Jay, 119.

¹⁴Hamm, 45, 80.

¹⁵Jay, 205.

¹⁶Jay, 205–210.

¹⁷North Carolina Yearly Meeting of Friends, Minutes, Meeting of 1870, Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College.

¹⁸Hugh Barbour and J. William Frost, *The Quakers* (New York: Greenwood Press: 1988), 205.

¹⁹See n. 11 above.

²⁰King to Samuel Bewley, 8.IX.1869, Papers of the Baltimore Association.

²¹Eastern Quarterly Meeting of Friends, Minutes, Meeting of 25.II.1888, Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College.

²²King to J. A. Grannell, 25.VI.1870, Papers of the Baltimore Association.

²³King to Joseph Crosfield, 13.V.1869, Papers of the Baltimore Association.

²⁴King to G. P. Wood, 12.XI.1869, Papers of the Baltimore Association.

²⁵King to John N. Parker, 21.XI.1878, Papers of the Baltimore Association.

Friends Historical Collection Annual Report, 1997–1998

By

*Carole Edgerton Treadway and
Gwendolyn Gosney Erickson*

Introduction

The uppermost concern this year has been preparing for Carole Treadway's approaching phased retirement, especially to ensure adequate staffing beginning in June 1998 when Carole's official work time is reduced by half. Another development that has had a major impact on our work and will continue to do so for the foreseeable future is the installation of a new computer. The computer is able to handle software connecting us to the Internet, as well as software that makes it possible to transfer most cataloging operations that previously were done in the library's Technical Services area to the Friends Historical Collection workroom. Our report concerns not only the ways that these changes have affected us this year, but also how they are influencing our planning for the future.

Staff

Gwendolyn Erickson, who has been filling the yearly meeting position of archives assistant for the last three years, completed requirements for the degree of Master of Library and Information Studies at the University of North Carolina Greensboro in December. She had been working for the library in the circulation department on a part-time basis for the fall semester, in addition to her work as archives assistant. In March Betty Place, information and reference librarian, took a three-month leave and Gwen added information and reference to her areas of work. She relinquished her yearly meeting position to become a full-time temporary librarian with responsibilities in three areas of the library. In June she begins a two-year

appointment, continuing her work in the three areas as needed, and increasing her hours in the Friends Historical Collection (FHC) to fill in some of the staff time vacated by Carole Treadway. During the next two years she will be learning about various aspects of the work of the collection in preparation for assuming even greater responsibility when Carole retires at the end of May 2000, if all goes as we hope it will. In June we will begin a search for a new archives assistant.*

Marcella Curry, a student in the Information and Library Studies program at UNCG, began a semester-long practicum in the FHC in January. During this time she processed the family and personal papers given to the collection by F. Duval Craven, a Greensboro manufacturer, active member of First Friends Meeting, and former Guilford College trustee. She expects to continue as a volunteer in the collection during at least part of the summer.

Student assistants this year were Nathan White during the summer months, and Rachel Miller and Hanna Passmore during the school year. Carole is grateful for Rachel and Hanna's working knowledge of the new computer software. They made the transition to using the new technology far easier than it would have been without them.

Docents and Collections Volunteers

While the number of volunteers remained about the same, several changes occurred. After many years of assistance in the FHC, Treva Mathis Dodd retired as docent at the end of the summer, and Ralph McCracken retired at the end of April. Both gave hundreds of hours of assistance to users and staff of the FHC. Mary Green resigned as a docent and Theodore "Ted" Perkins made his ongoing work for the collection official by signing on as a docent in the fall. Anne "Nancy" McLean, a recent graduate of the library studies program at UNCG has been volunteering as a collections volunteer since the fall with the intention of gaining experience in archives.

The annual docents luncheon was held in the Carnegie Room of the library on April 22. Speaker for the occasion J. Stephen Catlett, archivist of the Greensboro Historical Museum, told us about the museum and its work and read to us from some of the interesting manuscripts in his care.

Archives and Manuscripts

Minutes and records were received from thirty-six meetings, including twenty-three meetings of North Carolina Yearly Meeting-Friends United

* Nancy McLean was interim archives assistant until the end of September when Jane Miller filled the position.

Meeting, four of North Carolina Yearly–Conservative, and nine of Southern Appalachian Yearly Meeting and Association.

Norfolk Quaker House of Norfolk, Virginia, a peace education and military counseling center started in 1994 by members of Virginia Beach Friends Meeting, selected the FHC as its depository for archives. The minutes for the first four years of its existence were received. Bruce Pulliam, founding member of Fayetteville Friends Meeting and longtime supporter of Quaker House in Fayetteville, North Carolina (also a peace education and counseling center) sent additions to the Quaker House archives covering the years 1969–1996. These were organized and described by Gwen Erickson. A significant contribution to the FHC resources on the antiwar movement during the Vietnam War is a collection of underground newspapers, principally *Bragg Briefs* (1969–1974) published at the Fort Bragg army base in Fayetteville. That collection is supplemented by news clippings concerning antiwar protests in Fayetteville during the same period of time. These are a gift of Bruce Pulliam.

Gwen Erickson undertook a major reorganization of the closed stack area of the FHC where archives and manuscripts are housed and, in the process, made a clearer distinction between organization archives and manuscript collections.

Significant progress was made in the organizing of portions of the college archives this year as Elizabeth Very completed processing files of student services, the academic dean, and President William Rogers covering the 1970s and 80s. Nancy McLean has completed processing the office files of President Grimsley Hobbs and the personal and teaching files of President Clyde Milner and Ernestine Milner.

Marcella Curry organized and prepared finding aids for the F. Duval Craven collection, which includes his personal papers as well as those of his father, Eli Franklin Craven, from 1874–1990. Both were Greensboro industrialists (E. F. Craven Company, manufacturers of road machinery) and prominent members of Greensboro Monthly Meeting (Asheboro Street Friends Meeting, now First Friends Meeting). Duval Craven was also a trustee of Guilford College.

Gwen Erickson completed the processing of the papers of Robert Frazier, a project begun several years ago by Augusta Benjamin. This very large collection covers much the same period of time as the Craven papers mentioned above. Frazier was also a prominent citizen of Greensboro, an attorney and former mayor, member of Greensboro Monthly Meeting, and

Guilford College trustee. He was active in the political campaigns of Richard Nixon and served in the Office of Price Administration in the 1940s.

A very significant addition to our resources are copies of letters from Nathan Hunt (1758–1853) of Springfield, North Carolina, his son Thomas T. Hunt, and Joshua Stanley to their friends George and Susan Howland of Massachusetts. The original letters, dated 1842–1847, are in the Old Dartmouth Historical Society of New Bedford, Massachusetts. We were able to purchase the copies from the museum after Dan Salemsen notified us of their existence. The Hunt letters relate details of the life of the elder Hunt and members of his family, neighborhood news, concerns about the spiritual welfare of the Society of Friends in North Carolina and in New England, and conditions at New Garden Boarding School. Joshua Stanley's letter relates the story of Thomas Gossett, a former slave employed at the school who was endeavoring to raise funds to buy his son's freedom.

Research Projects and Notable Events

The Friends Historical Collection participated in a joint venture with the library, the Greensboro Historical Museum, and the Natural Science Center of Greensboro to mount an exhibit featuring the life and work of T. Gilbert Pearson. Pearson graduated from Guilford College in 1897 and went on to a distinguished career as an advocate for bird protection, pioneer in the environmental movement, teacher, and president of the Audubon Society. The collection provided the interpretation and photographs to augment a display of birds collected and mounted by Pearson before and during his days as a student at Guilford. At the docents' tea in December, Pearson biographer Oliver Orr gave an entertaining and illuminating talk on Pearson and the significance of his life work.

The most extensive research project undertaken during the year was that of Daniel Salemsen, a graduate student at North Carolina State University, who elected to investigate the responses of North Carolina Quakers to the Civil War for his master's thesis in history. He has scoured the state and beyond attempting to find new sources in private papers and in library collections and has read extensively in the archives and manuscripts of the FHC. His thesis will challenge some of the assumptions and interpretations that we have received about Quakers during the Civil War and it will verify and amplify others.

The perennially favorite topic of research and inquiry, the Underground Railroad, received even more attention this year, in part because of a course offered at the college and widespread interest elsewhere. During the winter

the *News and Record* of Greensboro ran a long article by Ned Harrison based on the author's research and reading here.

The spring 1998 issue of *The Southern Friend* featured portions of the diary and other writings of Elkanah Beard, an Indiana Quaker minister who traveled through the Mississippi Valley in 1863 surveying the material and spiritual needs of recently freed slaves who were languishing in contraband camps. The diary was transcribed, introduced, and edited by Daniel Salemsen who also selected the additions from Beard's other writings. The diary is in the FHC, a gift from Earlham College's Friends Collection several years ago.

A member of our faculty, Claire Morse, made an unusual use of manuscripts in the collection. For a study of how and why handwriting changes over the course of a lifetime she examined the handwriting of several persons for whom we have examples spread out over many years. The results of her investigation are not yet known.

Among other topics researched in the collection were Quaker approaches to landscaping and gardening; Quaker missions in Cuba; Quaker women and antislavery; migration of freedmen from North Carolina to Randolph County, Indiana. North Carolina Friends meetings—Ararat, Back Creek, Bethel, Center Valley, Goldsboro, Harmony Grove, Mt. Airy, Naomi Chapel, and Pine Hill—were the subjects of several investigations.

Professional Activity

Carole Treadway gave a talk at the annual conference of the North Carolina Reading Association titled "Quaker Education in North Carolina and Beyond," and spoke to the Women's Society of First Friends Meeting, Greensboro, about the Friends Historical Collection, the North Carolina Friends Historical Society, and the preservation of family papers. *Sojourners No More: The Quakers in the New South* by Damon Hickey, which Carole Treadway edited as noted in last year's annual report, was published in August 1997 by the North Carolina Friends Historical Society and North Carolina Yearly Meeting. She edited two issues of *The Southern Friend: Journal of the North Carolina Friends Historical Society*, Volume XIX, no. 2, fall 1997 and Volume XX, no. 1, spring 1998.

Carole Treadway and Gwen Erickson attended the spring meeting of the Society of North Carolina Archivists. Carole was named member at large of the Executive Board of the Society (a one-year appointment) and Gwen joined the Program Committee (a two-year appointment). Gwen and Carole also attended a SOLINET Preservation Management workshop.

Gwen Erickson was awarded the Master of Library and Information

Studies degree by the University of North Carolina, Greensboro in May, having completed the requirements in December. The title of her master's project is "User Expectations for Web-site Reference Services and Features at Four Quaker Collections: A Research Proposal." Her review of *Earlham College: A History, 1847-1997*, by Thomas Hamm appeared in *The Southern Friend* (Volume XIX, no. 2, fall 1997).

Conclusion

This year we explored the possibilities available to us in electronic formats for preparing finding aids and keeping records. As an interim measure, we converted some of our indexes to WordPerfect lists since our old card system had become difficult to keep up to date. We created templates for most of our routine forms and correspondence. Improved connections with OCLC in the FHC made possible a dramatic increase in the number of Quaker monographs we were able to catalog this year. During the coming year we will be changing the way we do things even more as we take advantage of this technology. We look forward to these changes. They will involve more thorough and efficient ways of carrying out our work, but even more importantly, we now have the potential of making our resources known more widely through the Internet. The future looks exciting, indeed.

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Deep River Quarterly Meeting,
Guilford County, North Carolina*

BY BENJAMIN BRIGGS

"Quakerism in Dixie,"

by Samuel A. Purdie

EDITED BY THOMAS D. HAMM

*Friends Historical Collection
Annual Report, 1998-1999*

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Journal of the North Carolina Friends Historical Society

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Editorial Policy

The editors welcome articles on any aspect of the history of Friends in the Southeast. Articles must be well written and properly documented. All copy should be typed double-space, and should conform to the most recent edition of *The Chicago Manual of Style* and Kate L. Turabian's *A Manual for Writers of Term Papers, Theses, and Dissertations*. The author-date form of referencing is preferred. See section 15:4ff in *Chicago Manual*. Articles and correspondence should be addressed to Carole E. Treadway, Hege Library, Guilford College, 5800 West Friendly Avenue, Greensboro, NC 27410-4175.

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"Friends' Meeting House at New Garden, North Carolina, 1869. Erected in 1791." Lithograph by John Collins. Courtesy of the Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College.

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Quaker Plan Houses of Deep River Quarterly Meeting Guilford County, North Carolina

By

Benjamin Briggs

In central North Carolina, many prominent and successful members of the Society of Friends (Quakers) constructed three-cell (i.e., three-room) structures, locally referred to as Quaker plan houses, between the year 1765 and the Civil War. Though the European antecedents of this plan remain unknown, earlier eighteenth century examples were built throughout the mid-Atlantic coast, from southeastern Pennsylvania to northeastern North Carolina.¹ Among the earliest known houses of this type in central North Carolina are the James Mendenhall House of 1765 (destroyed) and the Robert Lindsay House which was built before 1771 (destroyed).² Consistently, until the Civil War, these houses were constructed by individuals in and around the Deep River community in southwestern Guilford County, North Carolina, most often by Quakers of high status and leadership.

This investigation focused specifically on five Quaker plan houses in Guilford County, North Carolina and explored the social context of the original owners as well as the structures in which they lived. Emerging

Benjamin Briggs is a native of High Point, North Carolina. He received a B.A. degree in architecture and sociology from North Carolina State University and an M.A. degree in historic preservation from Boston University. He has restored several historic houses in Guilford County and teaches historic preservation at Randolph Community College. This article is adapted from a study done in the Preservation Studies program at Boston University in 1996.

commonalities shared by these individuals and the homes they built provide insight into who built Quaker plan houses, so that the question of the form's initial purpose and social meaning may be explored. Were the three-cell plans a material demonstration of Quakerism? Why did the builders of the plan choose the plan, and why was its use continued for a century? This exploration of Deep River and Springfield homes and biographies of their original owners show similar characteristics in their affiliations and activities, but what did their houses tell other Quakers and non-Quakers about themselves? Similarly, what do the forms of these houses tell us today about the individuals who designed them?

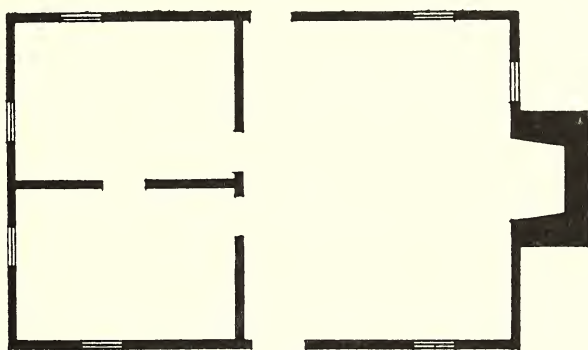
The one hundred year period before the Civil War began shaped the character of North Carolina's Quakers as they struggled with religious freedom, education, and the institution of slavery. The issue of slavery particularly separated Friends from the mainstream of southern society. The experience of being socially unique within the greater region of the South may have led Friends to use recognizable material symbols of Quakerism to identify themselves with their brethren through time and across state lines. One symbol of Quakerism was plainness of dress. For example, an individual from the nineteenth century was remembered for being "a typical William Penn Quaker."³ This investigation found that another material manifestation of Quakerism was the Quaker plan, otherwise referred to as the "Penn plan." Though interpreted through different proportions, architectural styles, and materials, the house type was used almost exclusively by members of the Society of Friends to distinguish themselves materially from others in an effort to foster a sense of solidarity within an increasingly intolerant environment.

Scholars of mid-Atlantic architecture have been perplexed by the Quaker plan since Thomas T. Waterman adopted the term for three-cell house plans in the 1930s. Some have referred to the "Penn plan" as a directive from William Penn, the Quaker founder of Pennsylvania, and have maintained that groups of various nationalities and religions passing through Philadelphia adopted this plan and reproduced it almost exclusively wherever they settled.⁴ Waterman wrote:

The development of the typical piedmont North Carolina house plan is due to the Quaker, Presbyterian and Lutheran settlers from Pennsylvania. To Philadelphia, the port of entry for Pennsylvania, came English, Scotch-Irish, Swiss, and Germans, to mingle with the Swedes already there. These diverse people produced a remarkably coherent architecture, so completely blended that often it is hard to tell which nationality built which house. . . . This architectural coherence, however, may be due in no small part to William

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Penn, the Proprietor of Pennsylvania. On his return to England in 1684 after his sojourn in his colony, he wrote a tract entitled *Information and Direction to Such Persons as are inclined to America, more Especially Those related to the Province of Pennsylvania*. In this he gives careful directions for the building of dwellings by the settlers, saying . . . “build then, a House of thirty foot long and eighteen broad, with a partition neer the middle, and an other to divide one end of the House into two small Rooms. . . .” He says that these directions are based on his own knowledge and “the Observations of others.” By this latter he probably meant the form of dwellings, built by the settlers, that he had seen in Pennsylvania, Delaware, and New Jersey.⁵ (Fig. 1.)



Lane House, Nixonton, Pasquotank County

First phase of three-room Quaker plan, no stair, and chimney at one end

However, archivists since at least the 1960s have questioned the authorship of such a directive, adding that the legend “got into a history book in the middle of the 1800s and is now accepted as truth by some people.”⁶ Recent investigations reveal that though the article remains anonymously written (no proof of William Penn writing such a piece has been found), the author was likely from North America, and had experience with construction from nearby settlements predating Pennsylvania (of 1681), such as the Chesapeake region.⁷ The lack of a directive from William Penn to construct three-cell plan houses questions the Quaker connection to the house type, and additional information is needed to research early Quaker use of the plan. Regardless, the plan had been adopted by the Quakers by the time of the American Revolution, indicating that some form of tradition had been started.

Scholars have also debated the European origins of three-cell plan structures for years. Thomas T. Waterman first attributed their origins to a diverse group of Quaker, Presbyterian, and Lutheran settlers from

Pennsylvania. Hugh Morrison indicated that the roots of the three-room Quaker plan were Swedish, brought to the Delaware Valley by its earliest settlers.⁸ David Hackett Fischer suggested that its origins are from the North Midlands of England.⁹ Bernard Herman countered Waterman's argument finding that three-cell houses in central North Carolina were really Continental plan structures, with antecedents in the Germanic *flurkuchenhaus* type.¹⁰ Herman described this plan as

a three-room plan dwelling arranged around a large central chimney pile with a great cooking hearth opening into a kitchen running the depth of the house and generally containing a stair to the second floor or attic level. Behind the kitchen on the other side of the central chimney are one or two rooms. The larger of these is the parlor which was commonly heated by means of a ceramic tile or five-plate cast-iron stove fueled from the kitchen through an opening in the rear wall of the hearth. The third and smallest room is a narrow downstairs chamber . . . frequently left unheated."

Herman also demonstrates the Georgianization of this house type, as "the large central chimney was discarded in favor of chimneys placed at either gable end" and "the facade was rearranged into a center door, three or four bay front."

In contrast, observations of this survey reveal that the three-cell dwellings associated with Quakers of central North Carolina are characterized by an exterior fireplace serving a kitchen or hall that runs the depth of the house, and is adjacent to two rooms of *equal* size sometimes heated by a single chimney stack containing corner fireplaces. Enclosed, or boxed, stairs usually lead from the hall to the second floor, where the plan becomes less rigid. Second floor plans can mimic the first, or consist of a single room, or two. Oftentimes, a single-cell annex has been incorporated into the house plan opposite the hall from the twin chambers. This evidence indicates that the "Quaker plan" and the "Continental plan" are separate but intriguingly similar house types.

Members of the Society of Friends first arrived in central North Carolina by the second quarter of the eighteenth century, though the coastal sections of the state held a Quaker population since the third quarter of the seventeenth century.¹¹ These backcountry Quakers consisted of a mix of individuals who migrated from Great Britain, the mid-Atlantic region, and the South Carolina low country, and they were soon followed by Friends from the New England states. By August 1750, the piedmont Quaker population had grown to a level that required an organized meeting. A petition was presented to North Carolina Yearly Meeting to establish the monthly meeting at Cains Creek (Cane Creek) in present day Alamance County, thirty miles

east of the Deep River valley. Cane Creek Meeting was the first Quaker meeting in North Carolina's backcountry, but rapidly swelling Quaker populations led to the founding four years later of New Garden Meeting, located ten miles northeast of the Deep River community.

Efforts to found Deep River Monthly Meeting began in 1754, when permission was granted by neighboring New Garden for the rapidly growing number of Deep River Friends to circulate their meeting place among five private homes scattered across the area.¹² A permanent meetinghouse was constructed by 1758, and in August 1778 Deep River became a full fledged monthly meeting.¹³ From Deep River, separate "branch" meetings continued to grow with the population, the earliest branch being Springfield Friends Meeting, which started in 1786. The quarterly status, an organizational link between monthly meetings and North Carolina Yearly Meeting, was granted to Deep River Quarter in 1818.

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Beeson House

When early Quaker settlers Isaac and Phebe Beeson arrived in the piedmont of North Carolina in June 1758, they faced a vast territory defined geographically more by what it was not than what it was. The area that was later to become Deep River, a center of North Carolina's Quaker community, was at that time a largely uninhabited region twenty miles east of the Moravian's Wachovia settlement, twenty miles west of the Lutheran and German Reformed settlement around Friedens Church, and twenty miles north of the hilly and sparsely populated Uwharrie Mountain region.¹⁴ As a headlands area of the high piedmont plateau, the region was composed of gently rolling hills covered in some cases by an open savanna and traversed by small streams flowing through rich bottom lands. The area's natural resources were abundant, including nearly endless supplies of timber, a combination of sandy and clay soils for construction and agriculture, continuously flowing streams for power, as well as beaver, bear, deer, otter, buffalo, and rabbit for food and trade.¹⁵

Isaac Beeson's parents were already settled in the Deep River area by the time Isaac purchased his 484-acre parcel straddling the west prong of the Deep River.¹⁶ Isaac located the site for his log home on a rise overlooking the bottom lands of the river and settled his growing family of two boys and one girl into their new farmstead. Bricks dated 1787 found on the property indicate that, through raising livestock and grain, he might have been able to

accumulate wealth necessary to construct a house of more substance adjacent to the log house as early as that year.¹⁷



Fig. 2.1. Beeson house, view from left front

The Isaac and Phebe Beeson House (fig. 2.1) presents an asymmetrical facade to the road. The main facade is three bays* wide and two stories tall and features a slightly left of center front door (fig. 2.2). To the left of this portion of the house is a single story, two-bay component (the annex) with a doorway in its right bay.** Both sections are topped with side gable roofs. Chimneys flank both sides of the two story block, as well as the end wall of the one story annex. Later alterations to the facade include the addition of a two story portico and various frame additions extending away from the house to the rear (fig. 2.3). Family lore states that the bricks from the house were made in the area of the river bank a few hundred yards northwest of the house.¹⁸

* Bay, a house unit, the number determined by the number of window units (not counting second or third story windows).

** Annex refers to an appendage wing constructed adjacent to the "hall" of the Quaker plan, opposite the twin chambers. The addition of the annex essentially converts the three-room Quaker plan into a four-room plan.



Fig. 2.2. Beeson house, view from right front

The five-panel front door of the house opens into a large hall with boxed stairs in the rear right corner leading to the second floor. To the right, separate doors lead to twin parlors, each with a corner fireplace. A large room (the annex) with a fireplace located on the end wall is located on the opposite side of the hall from the twin chambers. Interior partitions are also

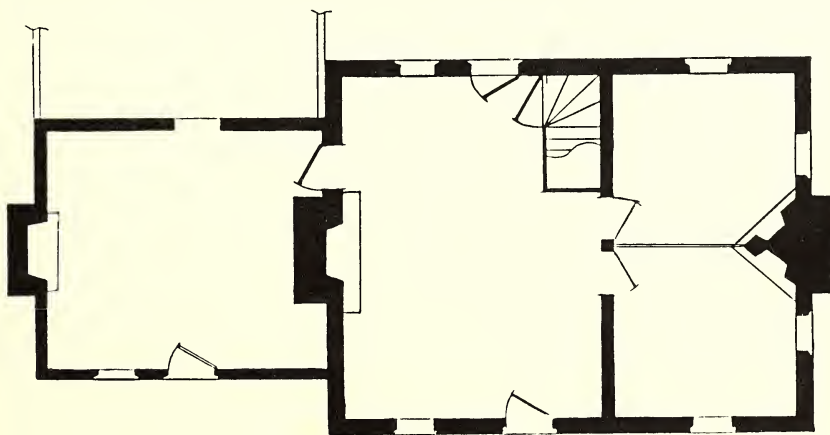


Fig. 2.3. Beeson house plan

of brick dressed with plaster, except for the division between the twin chambers, which is constructed of vertical planks (fig. 2.3)

Moldings on the first floor follow a wide range of styles, including Georgian mantles in the twin chambers, as well as Federal chair rails throughout, which contain Grecian ovolos* and beads. Tripartite mantles in the two largest rooms are of a rich and ornate composite design. The second floor mantle exhibits an early paint scheme in which the components are enlivened by contrasting colors and textures. This interior decoration stands among the most exuberant known in the county of that time. The consistency of the detail throughout the house demonstrates that the builder was aware of greater national architectural fashion and actively sought to incorporate these concepts into the Beeson house.¹⁹

The Beesons' Pennsylvania background may have influenced the design of their substantial new home. Isaac's father, Richard, was the son of emigrant Edward Beeson, who is said to have come to America with William Penn in 1682 or 1684 from Stoke, Lancaster, England.²⁰ In 1701, Edward Beeson petitioned William Penn's Commissioners of Property to allow settlement on a tract of land later known as Nottingham Township. Beeson received 980 acres in 1701-02 along with several other petitioners.²¹ Nottingham was a satellite settlement far removed from the relatively closely settled communities around Philadelphia, and was located on the present-day border of Chester County, Pennsylvania and Cecil County, Maryland. By the time of his death in 1711, Edward Beeson had amassed several tracts of land throughout southeastern Pennsylvania, for his will carefully assigns the various tracts to his wife and children. Eldest son Edward received land along the Delaware River, son Richard was given two tracts of land north and west of Philadelphia, and youngest son William received land in Nottingham.²²

Richard Beeson, Edward's second son was married to Charity Grubb in 1706 and was living in the Nottingham community by 1722 when his name appears in tax assessments there.²³ In the following years, he took on greater responsibility within the community's preparative meeting, serving twice as overseer of West Nottingham Preparative Meeting. While in the Nottingham community, Richard and Charity added three (including Isaac) to their family of six children, and the eldest three children were married. After

* Ovolo: a rounded convex molding.

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removing their membership to New Garden Monthly Meeting (Pennsylvania) for three years, the Beesons relocated to newly founded Hopewell Monthly Meeting in Frederick County, Virginia in 1736. In Virginia, the Beesons continued their involvement in the local meeting they may have assisted establishing, called Providence.²⁴

In September of 1754, Richard and Charity began the two-month journey to North Carolina and were received by New Garden Monthly Meeting (North Carolina) in November of that year, shortly after the meeting was organized.²⁵ However, it was two more years before the couple purchased land in the area. A tract of land containing 555 acres was surveyed in 1756 along the Deep River across from their daughter and son-in-law, but it wasn't until 1759 that Beeson received the land as a grant from the Earl of Granville, one of the eight original Lords Proprietors who had owned Carolina since 1663.²⁶ Over the next twenty years, all of the Beesons' nine children made the trek to the south and located in central North Carolina. Richard and Charity were well known throughout North and South Carolina where records of various meeting show their participation. They were also among the ninety-six founding members of Deep River Monthly Meeting in 1778.²⁷

Setting an economic and familial context for the Beesons for the period of time before construction began on their substantial brick home is difficult. The Beesons added twelve children to their family from 1750 through the 1770s. Records indicate that after their initial purchase of 484 acres in 1757, Isaac and Phebe Beeson acquired additional acreage within the Deep River valley, indicating that there was some expansion of wealth. As Quaker tenets at the time were growing increasingly wary of slavery, no record exists of the Beesons owning slaves. Consequently, their ability to farm an expanded plantation was curtailed. Simultaneously, limited access to large markets restricted their ability to raise cash crops and gain greater wealth, as Friends did in Chester County, Pennsylvania, just outside Philadelphia. The piedmont of North Carolina remained isolated and unable to support large cash crops until just before the Civil War, when a plank road was completed to the inland port of Fayetteville, and a railroad connected the area to the north-eastern cities.²⁸ Consequently, when Isaac died in 1802, his wealth remained in land holdings, instead of material wealth. Specifically, the first order of his will was to settle all cash debts, which were usually held by merchandisers or by neighbors who lent funds for additional land purchases. His second order was to give his real and personal estate to his wife, Phebe. However, his third order was to give the land on which he lived and all improvements

to his third surviving son, Isaac Jr. He also designated that his sixth son receive the remnant of his parents' original holding, given to him at their death. Finally, he provided for five shillings to each of his four daughters, his remaining four sons, and two grandchildren. The Beeson family's wealth remained in land, due to the stifling isolation of the piedmont of North Carolina. However, their home was a symbol of their relative prosperity, with bricks and molding taking the place of silver and china.

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Haley House

In contrast to the relative constancy of the Beesons, John and Phebe Haley achieved a higher profile through involvement in local government. The Haley's constructed their Quaker plan home one year earlier than the estimated date of the Beeson's brick home. The Haley plantation was located several miles south of Isaac and Phebe Beeson's farm, closer to the elder Beeson's original tract.

Though John Haley's origins are yet unknown, his wife, Phebe Wall, was born in Chester County, Pennsylvania as a member of Concord Meeting.²⁹ Her family arrived in North Carolina and settled in the Deep River area in 1766. In 1772, John Haley married Phebe, despite the fact that John was not a Quaker. Though Phebe continued her membership with the Society of Friends as one of the founding members of Deep River Meeting, Quaker records do not mention John. The existence of a marriage bond indicates that the two were not married in a Friends meeting.³⁰ However, Phebe was not disowned for marrying out of unity as was done during that time, but the marriage was sponsored by bondsman and weighty Friend Enos Blair.³¹ John Haley's tenuous relationship with the Quaker faith suggests that the nearby Quakers condoned his actions as shown through their acceptance of Phebe. John Haley made a living as a blacksmith, though nothing is known of his practice, and after many years of amassing several substantial tracts of land and being appointed tax assessor for the district, Haley began construction in 1786 on a new home (fig. 3.1).³²

The one story brick house is constructed along the three-room Quaker plan. Essentially it is a single story version of the Beeson House in reverse and without the side annex (fig. 3.2). All four facades exhibit Flemish brick bonding and segmental arched window and door openings atop a stone foundation. The three-bay house contains two chimney stacks located on opposing end walls, both integrated into the structure. Interior features have been altered numerous times, but surviving elements include a large cooking

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Above: fig. 3.1. Haley house, front

*Below: fig. 3.2. Side of Haley house showing date medallion
and patched brick wall*



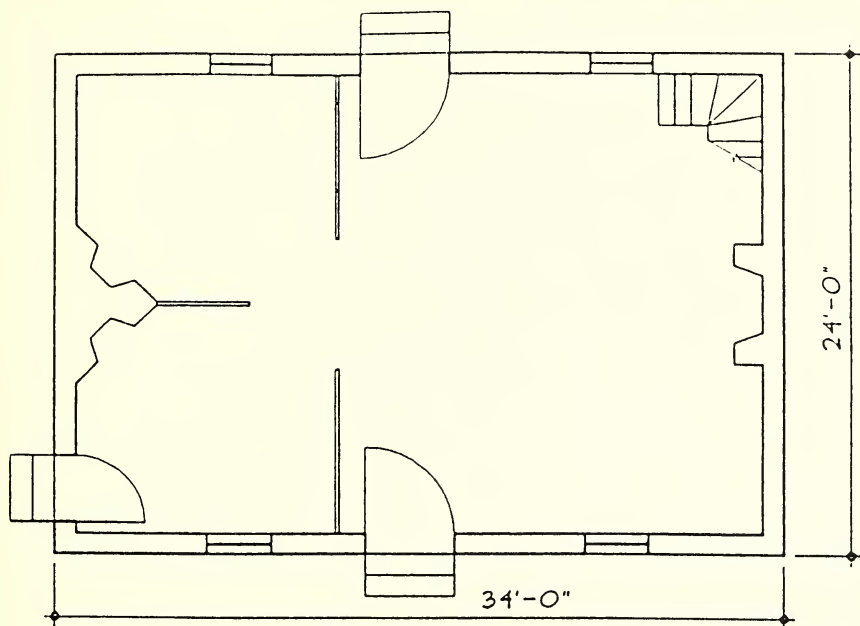
fireplace in the hall and two corner fireplaces to serve the twin chambers. The interior masonry walls are dressed with plaster, and interior partitions of vertical planks are likely to be accurate representations of the original design. A reconstructed boxed stair leads to the loft, rising just to the left of the fireplace (figs. 3.3 and 3.4).

Stylistically, the house is related to others in the Moravian settlements of adjacent Forsyth County and may indicate a common builder.³³ Architectural details such as the stone foundation, segmental arched windows, and the circular stone plaque inscribed with Phebe and John's initials, as well as the year of construction, are related to earlier traditions of the Albemarle region of North Carolina and the Delaware Valley of the mid-Atlantic states.³⁴ The Haley house's early age, small scale, and mid-Atlantic construction influence make it unique among Deep River's Quaker plan houses, which supports the theory that someone with experience beyond this community was involved with design. Specifically, the glazed header brickwork accenting the roof line (fig. 3.1) is related to Germanic building traditions centered around Salem, North Carolina.

After constructing his home, Haley took on greater roles in county government. He served as a juror during the March and September terms of the District Court at Salisbury in 1790, and the following year he was appointed tax collector, as well as a member of the jury selected to lay out a nearby road.³⁵ Haley is first mentioned as sheriff of Guilford County in 1796, a position he held until at least 1799. Among his other involvements during this time include serving as juror, commissioner of the construction of the Deep River bridge in 1801, and the administrator of estates. Haley's house must have been a landmark for the region, as it is one of the few buildings noted on an 1808 map of North Carolina by Price-Strother.³⁶ His high involvement continued until 1809, when he drew up his will in ill health. Thereafter, his main activities involved selling various properties until his death in 1813.³⁷

John Haley's will demonstrates his relative wealth at the time of his death. His wife, Phebe, received "all, I possess during life, & at her death Jesse Healy [nephew] is to have the home plantation, negro Sam, and Ned, corner cupboard, clock, & bed & furniture. . . ." Having no children of his own, he requested that a nearby 150-acre tract and a slave named Harry be given to Aaron Rich, a twenty-three-year old nephew adopted by the Haleys after his mother died at his birth. Mary Haley was to receive Jacob (a slave?) and "negro Mary" was willed to Phebe Haley Hugh. Other items willed to various family members were a "wach," a "rifle gun," a bay colt with saddle and bridle,

Quaker Plan Houses of Deep River Quarterly Meeting

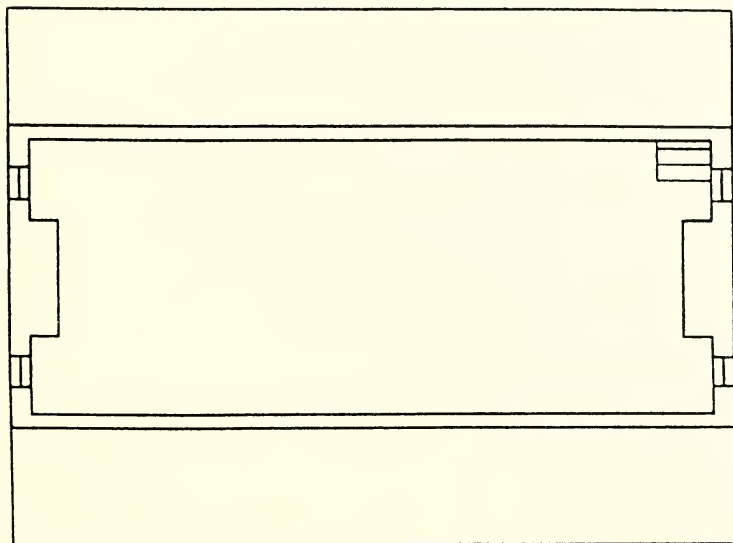


Above: Fig. 3.3. Haley house, existing ground floor plan.

Below: Fig. 3.4. Haley house floor plan for loft.

Phillips & Oppermann, P.A. Winston-Salem, N.C.

High Point Museum and Historical Park, High Point, N.C.



and ten dollars. Haley's possessions at his death reveal wealth beyond most area Quakers. His substantial brick home remained an area landmark years after his death, and his role in local politics went beyond most Quakers' involvement. Consequently, his will is more detailed, accommodating a greater level of wealth and material goods than most other Deep River citizenry. Haley's occupation as a blacksmith apparently enabled him to achieve a higher level of wealth than the Beesons.

The Haley house is now part of the High Point Museum complex and has been restored.

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Harris House

Jonathan Harris was born in 1806 in the Deep River community, possibly a third generation member of Deep River Friends.³⁹ He was approximately eight years old when his family moved to Indiana and around twenty-nine years of age when he returned. Obediah Harris, Jonathan's grandfather, was another relatively wealthy Quaker contemporary of Haley. Obediah was the owner of a prosperous mill on the South Fork of the Deep River, halfway between the Haley plantation and the Isaac and Phebe Beeson farm. In 1778, Obediah and his wife, Rebekah, were charter members of Deep River Quarterly Meeting, alongside the Beesons and the Haleys. Like other Quakers at the time, the growing sentiment against the use of slaves coupled with an increasing scarcity of available land led Jonathan Harris's father, Obediah Jr., to remove his family to Indiana in 1811. Jonathan returned to Deep River in 1835 and promptly married Louisa Stuart one month after his arrival.⁴⁰ His grandfather, Obediah Sr., died six years before Jonathan returned to his home state, but his grandmother may have survived to see him return. Jonathan apparently did not follow in his grandparents' lead to become a miller; rather, in 1836, one month after marriage, he purchased two tracts of fertile bottom land to form a farm of 178 acres.⁴¹ This land was located near the north prong of the Deep River two miles east of the Beeson farm and took in some of the best farmland in the area. The value of this land indicates that there was possibly a dwelling in place at the time of purchase.⁴²

The Harris home stands today as an irregular two story and three-bay structure constructed of logs (fig. 4.1). Its interior is also arranged along the configuration of the Quaker plan attached to a smaller two-bay unit or annex, which is in turn attached to an even smaller two-bay unit (fig. 4.2). The log structure is covered by molded clapboards, with flush sheathing under the porch roofs, a feature typical to the area. An extraordinary detail

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The Jonathan and Louisa Harris house. The south facade of this clapboarded log structure (fig. 4.1 above) is shaded by porches in response to the local climate. The north facade (fig. 4.2 below) shows the two story Quaker plan section of the house to the right, and the one story annex immediately to the left of that. The small addition to the far left was built later.



is the diagonal diaper pattern found in the brick of the main chimney, which occurs infrequently in the Carolina piedmont.⁴³

Though the twin chambers of the Quaker plan have been combined to form a larger kitchen, the remaining corner fireplaces allude to the original

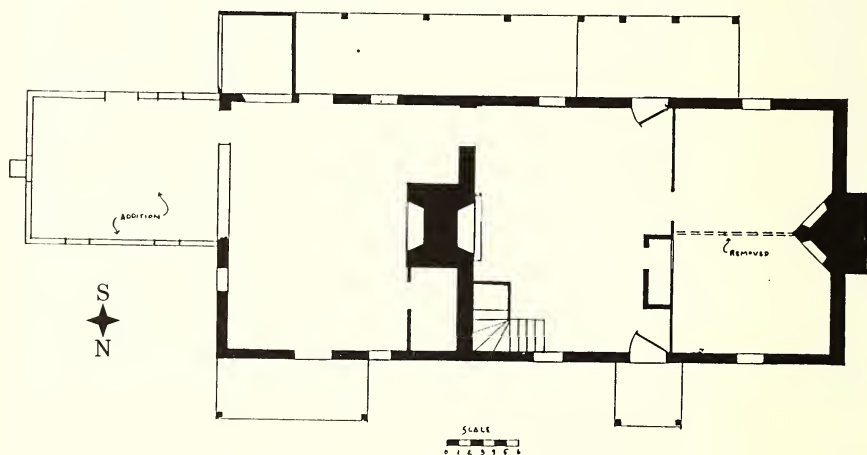


Fig. 4.3. Floor plan of Harris house

design. The Quaker plan portion is almost identical to the Haley house with a large hall containing a boxed stair to the left of the fireplace, and (former) twin chambers to the west. Like the Beeson house and Haley house, both twin chambers were heated by fireplaces. The second floor essentially replicates the first, with the exception of fireplaces (fig. 4.3).

Interior trim in the Harris house is not as elaborate as the Beeson house; nonetheless, it is far more substantial than other Guilford County houses of the time. Details include high-paneled mantles, and chair rails throughout the first floor rooms which feature Grecian ovolo with square profiles, styles popular in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. Interior walls are constructed of vertical planks, attached at the top and bottom to the ceiling and floorboards, respectively.

To the east of the Quaker plan portion of the house, the single story annex that is also constructed of logs is likely to be original to the rest of the house. This annex is positioned relative to the larger Quaker plan portion of the structure in a manner similar to the annex of the Beeson house. A small chamber to the east of the original annex has been added in recent times.

Quaker Plan Houses of Deep River Quarterly Meeting

By 1840, the Harrises had two children under five years of age and had added several acres of land to their farm.⁴⁴ Ten years later, on the eve of the completion of the Fayetteville and Western Plank Road to eastern seaports, the Harris farm included 120 acres of improved land, 157 acres of unimproved land, with a total cash value of \$2,500.⁴⁵ The total value of Jonathan Harris's real estate was \$5,000 in 1850.⁴⁶

In 1850, the average farm in Guilford County included 90 acres of unimproved land and 110 acres of improved land, for a total farm value of slightly under \$1,000. The size and value of farms ranged widely. Two-thirds of farms comprised fewer than 1,000 acres. A middle tier of 1,000-acre or larger farms, such as those owned by many Quakers, made up one-third of the total number. Finally, there were a very small number of substantial plantations that usually required slaves to maintain them.⁴⁷ Despite the large size of their farm, coupled with claims that the Harrises owned slaves, the 1860 slave census does not prove that the Harrises were slave holders.⁴⁸ The Harris's farm, slightly larger than the average, demonstrates the upper middle class position held by many area Quakers before the Civil War. These upper middle class families built many of the Quaker plan houses in the nineteenth century.

Harris was well known for having one of the best farms in the region, with his house and barn being much admired. He was also involved with New Garden Boarding School (the local Quaker institution of secondary education) as clerk of the Board of Trustees from 1866 through 1871.⁴⁹ In 1870–72, Harris served a term in the State House representing Guilford County.⁵⁰ He died in 1873.

Upon his death, Harris's estate was liquidated, and a detailed description of his possessions was made. It is not known whether certain items remained with the family and were therefore not documented. Often after the Civil War, estates were liquidated in order to satisfy debts and to provide cash for remaining family members. Relatives then had the opportunity of "buying in" if they wanted specific items, in which case all family possessions were included in the sale.⁵¹ The painstakingly thorough list of household items, which included everything from "China Cups and Saucers" to "pickle dish," "2 jar[s of] Peaches," and "Dog," seems to illustrate a level of desperation and urgency to raise as much cash as possible. The Harris auction was well attended by Deep River residents and presumably many others from surrounding counties. The sale raised \$1,161.40, which was added to cash already on hand and then divided equally between Harris's widow, daughter, and son.

To reprint the exhaustive fifteen-page documentation of sales is unnecessary, but certain items hold clues to the Harris's lifestyle. The account includes five "pairs of bedsteads and cord," one bedstead and cord, one trundle bed and cord, one turned bedstead, one bedstead, three forty-two pound feather beds, two straw beds, one chair, one arm chair, one cradle, two desks, one falling leaf table, one walnut table, a secretary for \$16.50, a dining table for \$2.80, one cupboard for \$2.00, one corner cupboard for \$6.50, two bureaus, two wash stands, a table for \$1.00, a rocking chair, a clock for \$5.40, a cook stove for \$19.75, looking glasses for \$.99, \$1.50, and \$3.50, many yards of carpet, five curtains, and over seventy books.⁵²

Attention is directed to the high number of beds that might have been located in the house. However, considering that the Harrises may have owned slaves (or at least harbored freedmen), and likely entertained Friends visiting Deep River and New Garden Boarding School, then the high number seems reasonable. The high number of beds might also hint at room usage. The house likely contained a total of seven rooms during the Harris's occupancy, and additional beds might have been kept in one or both of the twin chambers on the first level.

Throughout Quaker plan houses of the area, the purpose and use of the twin chambers remain a mystery. Current occupants of these houses often use one as a sitting room and the other as a bedroom. The Haley house interprets both chambers of the three-room house as bedrooms. A nineteenth century occupant of a nearby Quaker plan house was said to have used a chamber as an office.⁵⁴ Quaker historian Barry Levy observed that Delaware Valley Quaker houses in general were more spacious than those of contemporary Anglicans, sometimes allowing for private bedrooms as opposed to communal bed sharing.⁵⁵

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Marshall House

(Allen Jay House)

David Marshall, a member of New Garden Friends Meeting, relocated to the Springfield area in 1848 to teach school. Though his place of birth is listed as Green, Tennessee, little is known of Marshall's life before his 1846 request of meeting to marry.⁵⁶ Marshall applied the next year to remove his certificate of his right of membership to Springfield Friends Meeting, located ten miles south of Deep River Meeting.⁵⁷ In May 1848, Thomas Hunt sold two acres adjacent to the Springfield Friends meetinghouse to

Quaker Plan Houses of Deep River Quarterly Meeting

David Marshall for ten dollars. By June, Marshall had purchased from the meeting another three acres for twelve dollars. The two parcels were combined and apparently Marshall began construction of his two story frame Quaker plan house (figs. 5.1 and 5.2) shortly thereafter.⁵⁸

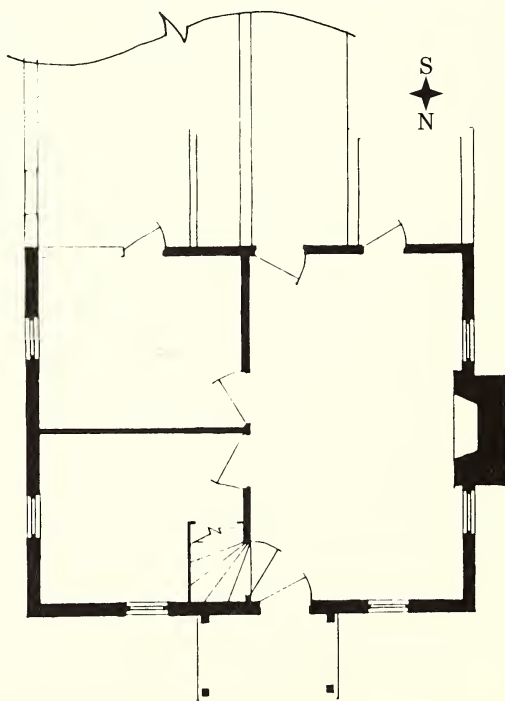
The floor plan of this house (fig. 5.3) is similar to the Haley house and the Harris house in that the large hall is to the right side. However, it is unique among this group in that access to the second floor is gained by a stair rising from the central partition dividing the hall from the twin chambers. Though the hall is heated by a large fireplace, the twin chambers lack separate heat sources. The second floor plan is similar to the first, including an identical fireplace arrangement and stair access to the attic. Renovations in the 1940s extended the house to the rear.



Fig. 5.1. Marshall house



Above, fig. 5.2. Marshall house. Below, fig. 5.3. Marshall floor plan.



Marshall's role in the Springfield schools is not clear, though by the age of twenty-eight he was a school teacher in the area. Springfield Friends began a school adjacent to the meeting and the Marshall house in the first decade of the nineteenth century, and it continued until the Civil War when it was closed for a period of time. The meeting's Committee on the Care of Schools hired teachers for the school, and it is possible that Marshall was hired for that position. In February 1851, however, David and Zelinda Marshall and their daughter Abigail requested their membership be returned to New Garden Friends Meeting. Their stay there was short, as they applied to transfer to Spiceland Friends Meeting in Henry County, Indiana in March 1852.⁵⁹

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Poe House

Though there were many instances of Quakers, such as the Harrises and the Marshalls, abandoning their southern stronghold in central North Carolina for Indiana and Kansas, there also were instances of area Friends rallying to improve the local situation. John and Nancy Poe were such individuals, who may have come to Deep River in the 1830s.⁶⁰ Deeds to land purchased by John Poe in 1840 and 1850 refer to adjacent lands owned by northern Guilford residents, but, while the 1850 Federal Census lists the Poes in the Northern Division of Guilford County, their farm is really within the southern half. After the Civil War, however, John Poe purchased land in the Florence community, a small village just south of Deep River Meeting that grew rapidly in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. Poe also began making payments towards the purchase of a 212-acre parcel of land, west of the meetinghouse, owned by Jonathan and Louisa Harris, mentioned above. Since a deed cannot be located to document when Harris received ownership of the property, it is possible that either he or his wife was willed the property. Obediah Harris did purchase land in the vicinity of the tract in the late eighteenth century, and Louisa's family, the Stuarts, owned a large farm adjacent to the tract. If this is the case, the possibility is strong that the Poes were tenants of the Harris tract and began purchasing the land when they saved enough money. The farm was said to have been one of the best of its time, and eventually included more than 400 acres

The house in which John and Nancy Poe lived (fig. 6.1) appeared to have been built in two periods. The earliest portion of the house was constructed with a timber frame and may have originally had either a single-cell plan or a hall and parlor plan. The three-bay south-facing facade was sheltered by

a porch, but the north facade design remains unknown, because it was destroyed by later expansions. A ladder gave access to the loft, which contained exposed pole rafters of cedar and lumber with sash saw marks, indicating a construction date before 1850.⁶²

The second period of construction included the erection of a two story modified Quaker plan wing (fig. 6.2) adjacent to the original house. Like the Beeson house and the Harris house, the facade of this house was irregular, with the otherwise symmetrical three-bay Quaker plan wing joined to a two-bay annex. The annex contained one room located on the opposite side of the "hall" from the twin chambers. The facade of this annex was recessed from the main block on the south side and featured an extension of the earlier porch. The Poe house differs from these two examples in that the single-room annex to the plan occurred on both levels of the two story structure. The picturesque exposed eaves of this newer section differed from the boxed eaves of the earlier section (fig. 6.3).

Finishes inside were simple. One fire stack served both the first floor "hall," as well as the adjacent extra room. Like the Marshall house, the twin chambers were left unheated. An enclosed stair in the "hall" right of the fireplace led to the second floor, which was identical in plan to the first,



Fig. 6.1, the John and Nancy Poe house. The north facade (above) likely faced the public road before the road was relocated away from the house.



Fig. 6.2. The south facade of the Poe house (above) shows the siding that was placed over the original wood clapboards. The fire damage occurred in the spring of 1995 and likely contributed to the destruction of the house in April 1996 to make way for a new subdivision.

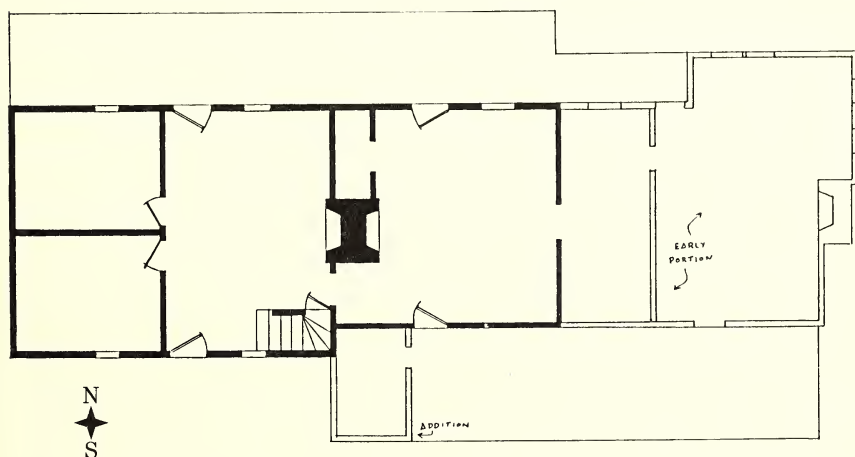


Fig. 6.3. Floor plan of the Poe house

with the exception of fireplaces. Circular saw marks were clearly visible throughout the structure, extending from exposed portions of the sill to the rafters.⁶³

In 1980, lifelong resident W. W. Pegg wrote a flattering portrayal of John Poe:

Poe had many gifts and I have heard grandfather Pegg, who knew him well, speak of them. He was not only a good farmer who knew how to increase the fertility of his land and grow big crops, but he was also an expert carpenter and could design and build homes and churches and every sort of building that was needed. He moved with the greatest of confidence and ease from one sort of work to another. He was a member of the Deep River Friends Church, but he literally built and gave the Sandy Ridge Community its first good church building. Thus, John Poe was creative in a variety of ways, and may well have been the ablest man that has lived in Deep River.⁶⁴

John Poe is also mentioned as a supervisor of the construction of an addition to the Free School at Deep River Friends Meeting shortly after the close of the Civil War. Nancy Poe died in 1871, and her husband John died in 1887 leaving behind his second wife, Sallie. The Poe House was destroyed in the first week of April 1996.

• • •

These Quaker plan houses of Deep River Quarterly Meeting are tangible reminders of the people who built them. Despite the wide ranging accomplishments and achievements of these individuals, several shared characteristics emerge.

Of the five structures reviewed, all but the Haley house were associated with practicing Quakers. Isaac Beeson was the third generation American in his family, his grandfather having arrived in this country early in the settlement of Pennsylvania. Though John Haley cannot be proved to be a member of the Society of Friends, his wife, Phebe, maintained strong associations with Friends. Jonathan and Rebekah Harris had strong roots in the Deep River community and continued their associations through involvement with New Garden Boarding School. David Marshall also kept close to the Quaker faith through membership in area meetings and possibly as a teacher in the Quaker-organized Springfield School. Finally, John and Nancy Poe epitomized Quaker reconstruction efforts after the Civil War through agricultural improvement and at least one building program.⁶⁵

Another common characteristic is the proactive and politically involved character of these individuals, ranging from the Poe's progressive agricultural practices, to Haley's service as sheriff, to Jonathan Harris's term as a

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representative of Guilford County to the State's General Assembly. All of these individuals were community role models of their time. Isaac Beeson busily established a farm out of what had been a forest when he arrived in the area.⁶⁶ Haley assisted in establishing social order as tax collector, law enforcer, and commissioner. Harris and Marshall were both involved in a key issue among North Carolina Quakers at the time, which was education reform. Marshall's position as a teacher in one of the earliest and most established programs in the region, and Harris's twenty-year involvement in the yearly meeting's secondary education initiative, New Garden Boarding School, exemplify both lower and upper levels of what was referred to as "the right education of youth."⁶⁷ Finally, John and Nancy Poe's interests in increasing the yield of their land emulated similar exercises at the nearby Model Farm, a teaching farm established near Springfield by the Baltimore Association of Friends to Advise and Assist Friends in the Southern States after the Civil War.⁶⁸ The Model Farm gave practical advice to aid area farmers in restoring the nutrient-drained and over-cultivated soil of the South using clover, erosion prevention, and other techniques.⁶⁹

The structures also demonstrate similar patterns and characteristics. The exterior dimensions of the three-cell portion of these structures demonstrate common proportions that identify these house types from others, such as Continental plans. The Haley house, for example, features a width of 24 feet and a length of 34 feet, a 24:34 proportion. Reduced three times, the proportions can be expressed as 3.0:4.25. In comparison, the Beeson house holds a 2.9:3.8 ratio, the Harris house has 2.8:4.7, the Marshall house at 2.5:3.0, and the Poe house holds 2.5:3.3. The prototype Quaker plan house as directed by William Penn would contain a 2.2:3.8 ratio, a bit smaller than the North Carolina versions. However, all samples remain within close range of each other, but demonstrate that the plan was fluid. Continuity in dimensions was not as important to the builders as the rooms' spacial relationships or usage.

Elements of Quaker plan structures that vary among structures include stair placement within the hall, the existence and position of fireplaces in the twin chambers, and building size, though plan proportions remain fairly constant. Interior decoration and finish often reflects the popular style of the time. Another common feature of Quaker plan houses in central North Carolina is a single-room *annex* which extends from the parlor, always opposite of the twin parlors. In such cases, Quaker plan houses were built as three-room plans, plus a one-room addition — in actuality a four-room plan.

Certainly, the quality, size, and permanence of these structures were characteristic of the homes of members of the Society of Friends. Many historians have noted that Quaker homes were better constructed and more substantial than homes of other American settlers.⁷⁰ Furthermore, Barry Levy suggests that this high level of construction resulted from the Quakers' child-centered family structure, a tradition that emphasized the innocence and potential of children, and from their wish to transfer wealth (cash, land, and houses) to subsequent generations. Thus, Deep River Quakers' large investment in their homes was likely part of the tradition of domestication and of creating family wealth.

A survey of the builders of all existing as well as destroyed Quaker plan houses (Appendix A), shows that a large majority were built by members of the Society of Friends. However, the clear majority of existing antebellum structures surveyed throughout Guilford County contain single-cell or hall and parlor plans. This demonstrates that, in this region, three-cell plans are indeed plans used predominantly by Quakers, even if they were not popularly known as Quaker plans at the time. The use of the plan apparently did show a level of dedication and identification with the Society of Friends. Visitors to these homes would begin to see patterns of use of the plan among "weighty Friends" and thus identify it as "Quakerly."

It is likely that the meaning of the Quaker plan to its builder changed as time progressed and the area grew increasingly more established. Possibly, the importation of the plan from settled Quaker areas began as a way to establish order and familiarity to an otherwise unidentifiable or unfamiliar landscape. Later, its use became "proper" for dedicated and well-established Friends. Finally, as other options for house plans opened for Quaker buildings, the plan became nostalgic or a status-improving item used to prove that one's dedication to Quaker ideals was equal to that of the earlier builders.

With so little information discovered concerning the use of the Quaker plan within the community, one should not attach too much importance to its use. In keeping with Quaker testimonials of the time, which encouraged simplicity and discouraged extraneous worldly pursuits, it is certain that any meaning of the Quaker plan was inferred and suggested as opposed to being recognized and celebrated. Its quiet use and subtle meaning probably contributed to the end of the Quaker plan period among Friends in Guilford County as more modern options became available. As home building resumed after the Civil War, the I-house grew increasingly popular, as constructed for the Model Farm. John Collins, a two-time visitor to North

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Carolina Friends Yearly Meeting, noted in his 1889 travel journal, "A retrospect of this second attendance at North Carolina Yearly Meeting proved that not only were the accommodations far better than they were eighteen years ago but that a spirit of improvement and progress was stimulating the minds of Friends, both young and old."⁷⁴ Southern Friends turned their attention away from the past after the Civil War and looked forward to a reconstructed world full of new challenges and concerns. The old agrarian-based economy of the South gave rise to the New South, based on fast growing villages, mills, mechanization, and tobacco. The reinvigorated Quakers of central North Carolina took on a new identity and role within society, and the Quaker plans were relegated to a memory of a grand past.

Appendix A
Quaker Plan Houses in
Davidson, Guilford, and Randolph Counties

<u>Structure</u> <u>Name</u>	<u>Date</u> <u>Constructed</u>	<u>Faith of</u> <u>owners</u>	<u>Status</u>
1. Buis/Lindsay House	1751	Unknown	Private ^a
2. George Mendenhall House	1765	Quaker	Destroyed
3. Haley House	1786	Poss. Quaker, wife Quaker	Public
4. Beeson House	1787–1810	Quaker	Private
5. Reuben Starbuck House	1780–1792	Quaker	Private
6. Marshall/Jay House	1791–1850	Builder uncertain	Private
7. Stuart House I	1800–1830	Quaker	Destroyed
8. New Market Inn	ca. 1805	Unknown	Destroyed
9. Richard Mendenhall House ^b	1812	Quaker	Public
10. Seth Beeson House	pre 1816	Quaker	Private
11. Charles Benbow House	1826	Quaker	Private
12. Mendenhall Store	1824	Quaker	Private
13. Iddings House	1825	Quaker	Private
14. Stephen Gardner House	1827	Quaker	Private
15. Moody Dougan House	1830	Unknown	Private
16. Nereus Mendenhall House	ca. 1830	Quaker	Private
17. Shadrack Lambeth House	1837–38	Unknown	Private
18. Joe Welborn House	1838	Unknown	Private
19. Harris House	1810–1840	Builder uncertain	Private

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20. Charles Pigeon House	1800–1860	Unknown	Unknown
21. Poe/Parrish House	1830–1860	Builder uncertain	Destroyed
22. Briles Place	ca. 1870	Poss. Quaker	Private

^aThe Evis/Lindsay House was possibly a Quaker plan house form adjacent to a “hall and parlor” wing. Construction dates for the various wings are unknown, though the Guilford County Court was held there beginning in 1771 in the “hall” of the “hall and parlor.” All that remains today is the “hall” of the “hall and parlor.”

^bThe oldest portion of the house, the basement level, was originally arranged in the Quaker plan.

Endnotes

¹ Cary Carson, *et al.*, “Impermanent Architecture in the Southern American Colonies,” 141. Henry Glassie, *Pattern in the Material Folk Culture of the Eastern United States*, 56. Bernard L. Herman, *Architecture and Rural Life in Central Delaware, 1700–1900*, 23. Thomas Tileston Waterman, *The Early Architecture of North Carolina*, 173.

²H. McKeldon Smith, *Architectural Resources: An Inventory of Historic Architecture, High Point, Jamestown, Gibsonville, Guilford County*, 11. The plan of the James Mendenhall House is not known; however, information gathered from exterior photos of the house before its demolition reveal a similarity of window and chimney placement with other neighboring Quaker plan houses. The Robert Lindsey House was recorded before its destruction, however the Quaker plan wing is only one component of the extensive structure and could have been constructed at an earlier or later date than the main house.

³A. M. Briggs, *Short History of the Life of Isham Cox*. “He (Isham Cox) dressed in regulation Quaker garb of that day—broad brim hat and homespun clothes—and in appearance was a typical William Penn Quaker.”

⁴Francis Benjamin Johnston and Thomas Tileston Waterman, *The Early Architecture of North Carolina*, 173; Hugh Morrison, *Early American Architecture: From the First Settlements to the National Period*, 505.

⁵*Ibid*, 173.

⁶Letter from J. Duncan Campbell, director, William Penn Memorial Foundation referring to conversation with William Hunter, chief of the History Division of the Pennsylvania State Archives, dated September 16, 1968.

⁷Cary Carson, *et al.*, *Impermanent Architecture in the Southern American Colonies*, 141.

⁸Hugh Morrison, *Early American Architecture, From the First Colonial Settlements to the National Period*, 505.

⁹ David Hackett Fischer, *Albion's Seed*, 475.

¹⁰ Bernard L. Herman, "Continuity and Change in Traditional Architecture: The Continental Plan Farmhouses in Middle North Carolina," in *Carolina Dwelling. Towards Preservation of Place: In Celebration of the Vernacular Landscape*, edited by Doug Swaim, 162.

¹¹ Seth Hinshaw, *The Carolina Quaker Experience*, 1.

¹² Cecil Haworth, *Deep River Friends*: Meetings were held ". . . at the house of Benjamin Beeson . . . except when it is at Mordicai Mendenhalls," 4.

¹³ *Ibid*, 5.

¹⁴ Blackwell P. Robinson, *History of Guilford County, North Carolina*. Friedens Church, known as Stahmaker's Church in its earliest days, was founded in the mid 1840s, 10.

¹⁵ Robinson, *History of Guilford County*, 1.

¹⁶ Mickey Elliott, *A History of the Beeson-Beason Family*, 7.

¹⁷ Jerry Cross, *The Beeson House Statement of Historical Significance National Register Nomination*, 2.

¹⁸ Cross, *The Beeson House Statement of Historical Significance*, National Register Nomination, 2.

¹⁹ Smith, H. McKelden, III., "Guilford County: The Architectural Traditions in an Exclusively Vernacular Landscape," in *Carolina Dwelling*, 154.

²⁰ Elliott, *A History of the Beeson-Beason Family*, 1.

²¹ *Ibid*, 2.

²² *Ibid*, 3.

²³ *Ibid*, 6.

²⁴ *Ibid*, 7. This meeting was also referred to as Beeson's Meeting during its twenty-year history, and its members were taken in by Hopewell Monthly Meeting shortly after Richard and Charity moved to North Carolina.

²⁵ Minutes of New Garden Monthly Meeting, 11-30-1754.

²⁶ Robinson, *History of Guilford County*, 10.

²⁷ Haworth, *Deep River Friends*, 114.

²⁸ Mrs. Charles Perry, "The Railroad Crosses the Old Plank Road and Setting for a City is Laid," in Sizemore, *The Building and the Builders of High Point*, 39.

²⁹ ____, *John Haley Family History*, 1. Some speculate that Haley may have come from Maryland or Pennsylvania. The Nottingham tract straddled

the border between the states. The writer also observed that the Women's minutes of New Garden Meeting prior to 1790 do not survive, and Deep River's Women's minutes did not begin until after John and Phebe were married. It is possible that Phebe was disowned and reinstated later, for example.

³⁰ This observation was brought to my attention by Carole Treadway of the Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College, Greensboro, North Carolina, May 8, 1996.

³¹ *John Haley Family History*, 2.

³² *Ibid.*, 5.

³³ John F. Bivens, Jr., *Restoration of the Haley House*, 3.

³⁴ Catherine Bishir, *North Carolina Architecture*, 134. Segmental arched windows and stone foundations are also seen in the nearby Mendenhall plantation, Mendenhall store, and the original Jamestown Friends meeting-house. As a young man, Richard Mendenhall, builder of the plantation, is known to have spent time interning in Chester County, Pennsylvania.

³⁵ _____, *John Haley Family History*, 9.

³⁶ North Carolina Department of Archives and History.

³⁷ _____, *John Haley Family History*, 14.

³⁸ Will of John Haley on file at the High Point Historical Museum.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ W. W. Hinshaw, *Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy*.

⁴¹ Guilford County, North Carolina, Deed Book 23, pages 404 and 406.

⁴² Guilford County, North Carolina, Deed Books. Land *with structures* in the late 1830s usually cost well upwards of \$10 per acre. Raw land costs ranged from 60¢ to \$7. In the case of Jonathan Harris's land in 1836 one parcel cost \$6.25 an acre, well within acceptance. However, the 162-acre parcel cost Harris \$8.60 an acre, suggesting the presence of structural improvements costing more than \$100.

⁴³ Bishir, *North Carolina Architecture*, 130; Herman, *Continuity and Change in Traditional Architecture*, 166.

⁴⁴ 1840 Federal Census.

⁴⁵ 1850 Agricultural Census.

⁴⁶ 1850 Federal Census.

⁴⁷ 1850 Agricultural Census.

⁴⁸ W. W. Pegg, *Recollections of Deep River*, 50; and 1860 Federal Census Slave Schedules. Harris may have harbored freedmen on his farm, which may have appeared as slave holding to outsiders. As Carole Treadway noted on May 8, 1996, Quakers were clear of slaves by the 1850s.

⁴⁹ Francis Charles Anscombe, *I Have Called You Friends*, 187.

⁵⁰ Haworth, *Deep River Friends*, 106.

⁵¹ Margaret Davis Winslow, *A Gift From Grandmother*, 58. "It seems that the custom of settling up an estate was to have a sale of all the property of the deceased and relatives had the opportunity of 'buying in' what they wanted."

⁵² North Carolina Department of Archives and History, Probate File of Jonathan Harris.

⁵³ Mildred Davis Watson, *Adela Hunt Davis—A Kansas Pioneer Mother*, 4. Anna Braithwaite, a Friend's minister from London, visited the home of Guilford County Quaker Nathan Hunt in 1823. Hunt's home may have been a Quaker plan and hall-and-parlor composite structure, as it is described by Braithwaite: "It [the house] consists of five rooms downstairs, a small kitchen, a room off of it where spinning wheels, etc., etc., are. A room which we enter from the front, perhaps fourteen feet square, with clean board floor, a hearth fire, some clean white wooden chairs, and two home built tables, a clock, a book-case, a stand dyed dark blue, a window with twelve panes of glass. Off of these are two lodging rooms and a neat little pantry."

⁵⁴ Interview with White family, current owner of the Nereus Mendenhall House.

⁵⁵ Barry Levy, *Quakers and the American Family: British Settlement in the Delaware Valley*, 183.

⁵⁶ 1850 Federal Census.

⁵⁷ Hinshaw, *Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy*. Transferral of membership did not include David Marshall's wife, Zelinda Marshall.

⁵⁸ Tradition in the Springfield community states that this house was built "at least by 1790." Evidence from the deeds contradicts this information. Logically, if the structure existed before David Marshall purchased the property in 1848, the cost of the property would reflect that improvement. The house stands on the two-acre tract purchased from Thomas Hunt for five dollars an acre. The tract purchased from the meeting included rich bottom land that slopes towards a small stream, in fact crossing the stream at one point to afford access to water, possibly

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accounting for its slightly higher price. By 1850, Marshall's property was worth \$300. Wings that existed before numerous restoration projects might have predated the surviving Quaker Plan section of the house, accounting for its alleged greater age. Further research, possibly a dendrochronological study, is needed to better date this structure.

⁵⁹ Hinshaw, *Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy*.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁶² In 1852, the Fayetteville and Western Plank Road was completed to Guilford County, and with it were brought portable circular saws, greatly altering the manner in which finished timber was produced in the immediate region. Generally, circular saw marks point to a structure constructed after 1852, vertical sash saw marks indicate a date prior to 1852.

⁶³ Perry, "The Railroad Crosses the Old Plank Road and Setting for a City is Laid," in Sizemore, *The Building and Builders of a City*, 41. In her article, Mrs. Perry refers to William Welchs' saw mills coming to the area in the early 1850s.

⁶⁴ Pegg, *Recollections of Deep River*, 60.

⁶⁵ Deep River Friend's current meetinghouse was completed in 1875. Further research should attempt to document John Poe's involvement with that program, if any.

⁶⁶ Though settlers did exist in this area as far back as the third quarter of the eighteenth century, their numbers did not impress a settled appearance to the land until the time of the American Revolution, in which this region played a key role at Guilford Courthouse.

⁶⁷ Minutes of Springfield Monthly Meeting, 4-11-1804.

⁶⁸ John J. Blair, *A Decade Pertaining to Education, Manufacturing and Agriculture in North Carolina Immediately Following the Civil War*, in Sizemore, *The Building and Builders of a City*, 60.

⁶⁹ Hinshaw, *The Carolina Quaker Experience*, 168.

⁷⁰ David Hackett Fischer, *Albion's Seed*, 475; Barry Levy, *Quakers and the American Family: British Settlement in the Delaware Valley*, 183.

⁷¹ Levy, *Quakers and the American Family: British Settlement in the Delaware Valley*, 75.

⁷² John Collins, "A Summer Trip to North Carolina 1887." Collins Family Papers, Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College, North Carolina.

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“Quakerism in Dixie”

By

Samuel A. Purdie

Edited by

Thomas D. Hamm

This series of essays by a New York Quaker constitutes one of the first published attempts at writing the history of Friends in North Carolina. Published in a rather obscure Chicago Gurneyite Quaker periodical, the Herald of Peace, in 1868 and 1869, it has never been reprinted and has apparently been hitherto unknown to students of the history of Friends in the South.¹

The author of these essays was prominent among Friends in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Samuel Alexander Purdie was a native of Columbus, New York, born there March 5, 1843. His father, also named Samuel, was born in Norwich, England, and received part of his education in a school taught by Priscilla Gurney, a sister of the eminent minister Joseph John Gurney and the prison reformer Elizabeth Fry. The Purdies were intimate friends of both the Gurney and Fry families. After suffering financial reverses, Samuel Purdie's parents brought him and the rest of the family to New York in 1827.²

Samuel A. Purdie spent his early life in New York in a Gurneyite Quaker family of strong evangelical tendencies. As a young man, he read

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Samuel and Guelma Purdie and son

and was apparently deeply influenced by an account of Joseph John Gurney's life. Strictly adhering to the peace testimony during the Civil War, he was fined at least once for refusing to drill with the militia. Surviving extracts from his diary indicate that at one time he apparently

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had qualms about some Quaker beliefs, but by 1865 he was able to write: “I can now accept their principles without omission or deduction.” These commitments are clear in his writings.³

In October 1866, Purdie arrived in North Carolina. Joseph Moore, the superintendent of the Baltimore Association, which was trying to aid Friends in rebuilding after the Civil War, hired him as the teacher in the Friends school at Centre meetinghouse in Guilford County. After a year there, he taught for four more years in schools at Back Creek and other nearby points in Randolph County. While at Centre, he first spoke in meeting. One Centre Friend remembered him as “of a lively disposition, cheerful and full of fun, but never engaged in conversation or encouraging it on others that bordered on the sinful . . . he seemed to be severed far from evil even in the thought.” On February 15, 1869, Purdie married Gulielma Maria Hoover, a Back Creek Friend.⁴

Although Purdie liked North Carolina, writing home of its “Edenic loveliness,” by 1871 he felt that his future lay elsewhere. As early as 1867 he had shown an interest in learning Spanish. Poor health also convinced him that he had no future as a farmer, a necessity when teaching did not pay enough to support a family. So in 1871 he accepted a call from Indiana Yearly Meeting to undertake missionary work for it in Mexico.⁵

The Purdies spent the next twenty-four years in Mexico. He went, in his own words, not “to preach peculiarities but to preach the Gospel.” Nevertheless he founded two Friends meetings at Matamoros and at Victoria, as well as schools. He also set up a publishing house that put out a wide variety of religious and educational texts that were used through Central America. In 1895 he moved on to El Salvador, where he died of lockjaw, August 6, 1897.⁶

Purdie’s articles on North Carolina Quakerism are invaluable for two reasons. The first is the light they shed on conditions among Friends after the Civil War. Many of the stories Purdie tells, such as the sufferings of Friends like the Hockett brothers or Seth Laughlin as conscientious objectors, are familiar, but he provides us with new details. More significant is what he tells us about the history of Centre and Back Creek monthly meetings. His description of the old Centre meetinghouse is unique. Purdie also had access to the early men’s minutes of Centre Monthly Meeting, which were later destroyed in a fire. His extracts are, to the editor’s knowledge, the only ones in existence and provide information that otherwise would have been lost. His biographer noted that to gather

information Purdie "traveled many miles on foot visiting the different meetings and many families throughout the state." The last article implies that Purdie intended to write others, but if he did they were never published.⁷

Purdie's articles have been reproduced just as they were printed, with the exception of the correction of a few obvious typographical errors. His occasionally erratic punctuation and capitalization have been retained.

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I

Perhaps it may be interesting to some of the many readers of the HERALD, whose forefathers have removed from Carolina, to take a peep among some of its ancient records, and see if there are not to be found some things, worthy of being read and compared with the present. I shall be confined to some incidents, and movements, in central North Carolina, because it is those records alone, which have come under my observation.

Before 1773, two Mo[nthly] Meetings had been established in what now constitutes the territory of the four central Quarterly Meetings of North Carolina Yearly meeting. These were the Mo[nthly] meetings of Cane Creek and New Garden; both of these Mo[nthly] meetings are still in existence.

Cane Creek now comprises two meetings, both of which are supplied with well conducted First day schools, both of which are supplied with a large map of Palestine, and I think both have libraries for the use of those attending. Last year the number enrolled in the First day school at Cane Creek was 408, while the average attendance was over 200, through the entire summer.

The first day school, at Rocky River meeting is not so large, but much is being done there by our esteemed Friend Isham Cox, to promote vital Christianity. This esteemed minister, has during the past summer, held an afternoon meeting, nearly every First day, at some convenient place in his own neighborhood; and we trust that much good has been done thereby.

At Cane Creek is Sylvan Academy, with three teachers, being a Monthly meeting school, under the care of the Baltimore Association of Friends.

New Garden Mo[nthly] meeting is small at present, many of the Friends having removed westward from there. It had an interesting First day school the past summer, and is the seat of the New Garden Boarding school. This school has been more prosperous of late than for a few years past, much aid

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having been given to it, by the Baltimore Association, for repairing the furniture and building, and by paying the tuition of some in limited circumstances. But to glance at the past.

Center Mo[nthly] meeting was separated from New Garden Mo[nthly] meeting in 12th mo 1772. A peep into its records, will show us many facts that will be full of interest, and profitable for reflection.

We can see that it had a careful eye to the interests of its distant members, and encouraged them in “holding meetings among themselves, when they thought by the reports of committees, that they could be held to the honor of the truth.” As some of these movements resulted in the formation of the Monthly Meetings of Back Creek, and Marlboro, I will leave them for another paper, when giving a sketch of those two meetings. But to return to the records. We shall find that they had a careful eye to Friends, bearing a faithful testimony against war, during the struggle of the Revolution, and complaint after complaint came up against those who took the test of allegiance, to “the present unsettled authority,” as they termed what is now the government of the United States. After the treaty of 1783, the matter was left with each man’s conscience.⁸

They also paid attention to the advice of the Quarterly Meeting concerning those who had settled on unpurchased Indians lands in Tennessee.

The following extract from the minutes of Western Quarterly Meeting, held at Cane Creek, the 10th of the 11th month 1788, will explain the cause of this concern. “This meeting being informed that truth’s testimony, doth and is likely to suffer on account of the Friends conduct that live on Lost Creek near Holston River, by reason of settling on land yet in contest, therefore this meeting recommends to each monthly meeting, from whence these members have removed, to advise such Friends to move off such lands of the compass of peaceable possession. Extracted from the minutes by Thos. Lindley, Clk.”⁹

The Yearly Meeting of 1791, prohibited Friends from settling on such lands. The following minute shows unwavering honesty. “We the committee, appointed in the matter of S. H., do give it as our judgment that S. H. ought to pay the remaining balance of L2.9s.3d, which appears yet to be due in order to make up the depristiation [depreciation] of the money.” (Names omitted.) “Which judgment this meeting unites with, and confirms the same.” Extracted from the minutes of Centre Mo[nthly] Meeting 9th 1790. This was a large Monthly Meeting in those days, and had much to do to keep its membership, from being stained by the gross immorality which surrounded

them in a land of slavery. It always tried to enforce the regulations of the Yearly Meeting on the subject of slavery, whilst the drunkenness and licentiousness which was continually making inroads upon the church, caused them to be almost constantly active in order to cleanse its garments from pollution. Almost constantly it was laboring with its delinquent members on the subject of drunkenness, while between the years 1773 and 1806 no less than 44 cases of complaints for a breach of the moral law, on the point of chastity came before the meeting. This may be a matter of surprise to those who are unacquainted with the condition of morality in the South. Interesting as this may be we must adjourn.

II

Early in the days of Centre meeting, the needs of their large congregation compelled them to build a large meeting house. They entered earnestly upon the work, and the result was the house in [which] the people of Centre still meet to worship God. The structure is one of the most curious of Friends' meeting houses in America, and is worthy of passing notice. The walls are built of three-inch poplar plank, morticed into upright oak posts, and securely pinned, the points of the pins often projecting inside, although not intended for ornament. The side walls consist of two ranges of posts, one above the other, with a plate or beam between them. There are, I believe, seven posts in each row, requiring six lengths of plank for each side, making a total of 130 mortices on each side. The ends are built on a similar plan. The spaces between the planks are stopped with mortar and sticks. The whole structure has been weather-boarded, but bids defiance at all efforts at ceiling, save the gum-ceiling over a little more than one-half of each room. The remainder of each room is occupied by the loft or gallery, to support which, and to give strength to the whole structure, recourse was had to a curious combination of braces and supports, which makes the upper part of the building look about as much like an effort at ship-building as at house building. Soon after its completion the Yearly Meeting was once and only once held at Centre.

Much as we might love to dwell on interesting scenes in the early history of this meeting, and incidents which have occurred within those walls, our space bids us pass on to times more recent, and scenes more strange than those of its early days. After the separation of the Monthly Meetings of Back Creek and Marlboro, Centre Monthly Meeting consisted of three meetings of Centre, Concord, and Providence. Concord meeting was discontinued some years ago, nearly all of its members having removed elsewhere. The house

was accidentally burned during the war. About two miles from the place, several persons joined our society during the war, and an interesting school has been kept up for two winters past by the Baltimore Association, for the education of their children. Providence meeting still continues with a large school, employing two teachers when full. It has of late had a First day school in summer, and a reading circle in winter, to stir up religious life among its members. The meeting was at one time the residence of the renowned prophet preacher Mahlon Hockett, whose close, heart-searching and spirit-discerning words have sent many an arrow of conviction close home to the hearts of erring ones. As he has gone to his long home, it may be proper to record one or two of those instances in which he was enabled to tell people of their thoughts and actions, by *immediate revelation* alone. Upon one occasion, when preaching, and apparently addressing a single person, he said, “Beat up the cloth well, and take back all of the filling.” The result was that a woman shortly afterwards returned some yarn which she had dishonestly retained by the above means.¹⁰

Dr. W. was a man of the world, while his wife was a consistent Friend. Mahlon had appointed a meeting at C., and time to start for meeting from the home of Dr. W. had fully arrived. His wife kindly invited him to go to meeting, but he at first hesitated, wishing at the same time that little Mahlon might do *mighty well*. He finally concluded to go, arriving after meeting was started, and while Mahlon was preaching. Scarcely had he entered, when his words before leaving home were repeated in his hearing. After meeting he acknowledged to Mahlon that he was the one that said them, and was assured by the preacher that he could have laid his hands on his head in meeting time as the man to whom he referred.¹¹

Let us pay a few visits to the old meeting house in those days when the dark cloud of war gathered over our nation, and burst with desolating havoc among the once lovely scenes of the mistaken South. Whilst on the field of battle, man was arrayed against man, armed with the death-dealing weapons of war, and the papers were almost daily filled with records of scenes of bloodshed, of burning towns, and starving prisoners, little did those favored to reside north of the terrible battle line, realize the condition of those who resided in country places remote from the battle lines, in the nominal territory of the Confederate States of America. When the leaders of the would-be nationality resolved that “the last man and the last dollar” must be sacrificed if necessary to secure the independence of the South, a terrible system of tithing and conscription, carried misery and suffering to the homes of the innocent and peace-loving people, who were quietly pursuing their

usual avocations at their homes. Many of them sought refuge in flight beyond the lines, but large numbers, unable to leave their dear ones, sought hiding places among the woods and fields, and wherever they could find a retreat to shield them from the pursuing conscript hunters. The old meeting house at Centre was not forgotten, and beneath one stairway is still pointed out as the hiding place of some of the conscripts. There they lay while the quiet meeting gathered and dispersed, and no doubt many a long and anxious hour was spent by them in that retreat. The conscript hunters did not forget the house, but a band of them, for a time quartered there, and many of the benches still show the effects of being used by them to lay meat on, having been deeply stained by it. One day, during meeting time, the roll of the band was called on the steps of the house, and as one by one their names were called, they stepped into the room where the quiet worshippers were seated, and took their guns and stepped out again to form in the ranks of the war, and hunt down their brethren. One day in the spring of 1865, as some of the Friends were waiting for meeting hour to arrive, they found it impossible to go to the house appointed, for the road was filled with a moving mass of human beings ere the time to start had arrived. Until the sun was about to set in the west did this mass of armed humanity continue to pour past the meeting house. It was Gen. Hardie's corps, of Gen. Johnston's army. As each of the three divisions marched past the meeting house, a notch was cut in a large oak, as a signal to those behind that they had safely passed that way. By the roadside, where the army was passing, was the humble residence of W. B. H., who had been seized, and, against his will, carried to the scenes of war and desolation. His sufferings, and the pathetic scene where, upon his knees, he said, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do," when to all appearance, a martyr's death was inevitable, will be among the most touching events recorded in the history of the Society of Friends.¹² That God who preserved the three holy men in the fiery furnace, and who, be assured, the murderous officer who had ordered his execution, could preserve his life, did preserve him, and deliver him from the oppressor's power. But the Christian captive of Fort Delaware was now safe among his friends in the distant West, and here in that humble residence was his young and heroic wife. She had refused to hide even their horse from the sight of the Confederate officials, or to grant him so scanty an allowance as to make his seizure not desirable. Now the disordered army was passing; everything seemed in danger; but the absence of her husband proved the keystone of her preservation, and without her request, a guard was placed by her house, to preserve everything from the pilfering soldiers.

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Those dark days were soon exchanged for more hopeful ones, for soon after this the army of Gen. Johnston surrendered to Gen. Sherman, and the war was closed. Cheering as this must have been, the fact that war is a terrible thing, and that it left the conquered party in the jaws of famine, with a ruined currency, plantations in disorder, education and improvements neglected, in fact save the bare necessities of life, four years of neglect of work, on the plantation, the highway and in the schoolroom, will make those days which succeeded the war, days long to be remembered as days of sufferings, of trials, and of poverty.

But the scenes within the walls of the old meeting house were changed. For there in the autumn of 1866 a school was opened under the Baltimore Association for the education of the children and young people of Centre. Two other schools had already been opened in the Monthly Meeting, and the one near Concord was soon afterwards. For seven months the young people gathered in the old meeting house, and long will they remember those days. The scenes there are changed again, and a large schoolhouse, with two rooms, and, when full, two teachers, is now the place where they meet for instruction. For five days, in 4th mo. last, the house was crowded with those interested in First day schools, met for mutual improvement in the best methods of winning souls to Christ. Many were the practical questions considered, and methods of instruction illustrated by model recitations, and soul stirring addresses there listened to. They have earnest workers in the cause of Scriptural instruction at Centre, and their First day school numbers in summer from 80 to 130 attendants. An association of Sabbath School teachers of all denominations meets monthly in that vicinity, in which Friends take a prominent part.

III

Ere I bid a final farewell to Centre Meeting in these essays, it may be proper for me to state, that the adventures of three of its members, and their persecutions for their testimony against war, form an interesting part of the small work recently issued concerning the sufferings of Friends in North Carolina, for their peace principles during the late war.¹³ It is to be hoped that that work will be widely circulated, which to some extent precludes the necessity of my taking too much space to record their sufferings. Two of them were severely used in that state, while the other one was taken to the army on the Potomac under General Lee, and every means which a fiendish cruelty could suggest was used to induce him to fight with carnal weapons; but all was vain: his heart was true, his faith was firm, he trusted in God and

was preserved, whilst his heartless persecutor was soon after summoned to his reward, or at least to meet his Judge.

While these three brethren were thus called from their homes, their true-hearted wives were at home and were obliged to manage, and often to participate in the severe toils of the plantation. Let us not forget their toils, their trials, their sorrows, their many anxious hours, when, with their little ones around them, the head chair was vacant, while the woods around were filled with the bushwhackers (who were thus trying to escape from the dreaded conscript hunters), some of whom often lived by plunder. Between these and the dreaded conscription officers, who were seizing horses for army use, the little stock of provision which they contrived to raise, and the means of raising more, were often in imminent danger of annihilation, but a Father watched over them, and now they can say that they were preserved and had enough for their daily necessities, besides feeding many of those who were lying out.

Those were trying days, and the evils of war will long be remembered by those who dwell in the conquered states. When a man gives way to the angry passions of his nature, his ability for usefulness, and his steadiness of purpose, are more or less paralyzed according to the violence of his passion. So it is with human governments. During the late struggle, while party spirit was raging with unwonted violence, and the two sections of our nation were engaged in deadly combat on the fields of blood and carnage, the property of one party was considered rightful plunder by the other, whilst the sacredness of human life was nearly lost sight of. In the South, most especially, did the disease of the nation, become distributed among the people, and deeds of blood and pillage become very abundant in country places.

It was during these trying days, that a band of marauders entered the house of L. R. at Centre.¹⁴ Notwithstanding the known peaceable character of the inmates, they had armed themselves with clubs to carry on their work of pillage. They failed to secure what money they expected, and in order if possible to get more, they, I believe, once or twice suspended L. R. from a tree, to make him tell where his money was, while he steadily and candidly told them he had no more. This Friend was seized and taken to Greensboro, by the conscription officers, but his wife paid the exemption tax, and procured his release.

A young man named Leonard was seized by them, and carried to Virginia. His father went to see after his welfare and procured his release, but the result of his exposure soon terminated his life.¹⁵ I will try to secure for the

readers of the HERALD the private journal of W. B. H., who suffered more from persecution than probably any other Friend who survived, and which will give a better idea of the persecutions he endured than I can.

The amount of property taken from Friends during the war, was very considerable. All of the best horses were seized, while hay, fodder and corn were taken by the marching soldiers to feed their horses. Hogs were often seized, while such was the condition of the soldiers of Gen. Hardie, that the wild onions in a field of grain rapidly disappeared before them. Large numbers of soldiers were camped near Centre for several days about the time of Gen. Johnston's surrender. There was often inquiry made by the soldiers when leaving the army and returning homeward concerning the principles of Friends, and they could not but admire the doctrine of peace and express their belief of the benefits of a general reception of the doctrines of the Prince of Peace. Much of the industrial work of the South was carried on by Northern companies, and these fleeing to their homes on the outbreak of the war left the business works of many settlements in a state of suspension. So it was at Centre. The principal works of much importance at Centre were the Fentress and Baltimore mines. The Baltimore gold mine, about half a mile from the meeting house, was a new work, and, although giving employment to several persons, its suspension was not so severely felt as that of the Fentress gold and copper mines, which had long been in operation, and afforded to the people a ready market with pretty good prices. I do not know the perpendicular depth of the mine, but the hauling chain which reached to the extremity of the mine, down a slanting way, was about 400 feet long. The filling of the mine with water was a natural consequence of the stopping of the pump, and during the war much damage was done to the works above ground, so that the expensive works have become an almost total loss. Neither of these mines have been resumed since the war, and the consequences to the business prosperity of that section are still to be felt. Who can estimate the cost of war when its results in wasting thousands of dollars worth of property, in sections remote from the track of the armies? In this respect, Centre is only a specimen of vast numbers of similar cases. When we estimate the cost of war, we must sum up not only the nation's war debt, and the value of cities which have been burned, of public works which have been destroyed by the marching armies, but we must estimate the general destruction of property, and suspension of business, which have, for the present, at least, resulted in the financial ruin of the South. Though the Southern war debt will never be paid, the Confederate currency was in circulation, and those who had much of it on hand, when it died, had to lose it. When we

estimate the evils of war, we must not forget the vice and immorality which it favored. Not alone were the soldiers bred in immorality, but the arm of justice, being paralyzed throughout the country, vice became abundant, and a respect for the law of the country and for the law of God, seemed to be lost in a large number of the people.

The majority of the people in North Carolina voted against a convention, when one was proposed for the purpose of passing an ordinance of secession, and it was by the tyranny and unjust use of power on some of the leaders, that a convention met, and the ordinance was passed.¹⁶ The union people were forced to keep neutral during the whole time of the reign of terror, or their property or even their lives were in danger. Whether this was the case in any other Southern states I do not know, as to a majority being Union people, but one thing is certain, that everywhere the rights of the Union people were trampled in the dust, and their property and lives were scarcely more sacred than was that of an enemy in actual engagement. My readers may think that I am a good way off from following the records. This has seemed a necessary excursion, but I hope in my next to be following the records more closely.

IV

I now propose to give a brief sketch of each of the principal meetings in our four central quarterly meetings, and then give some general views on the past and present of Friends in this Yearly Meeting, and draw some conclusions as to the possibility of using the experience of the past to guide us in the future. On the records of the Centre meeting I find the following: "The Friends which inhabit about Jesse Henley's, request that their meeting be held every fourth First day, which this meeting grants until further orders." 3rd mo 20th, 1773. This was the germ of Back Creek monthly meeting. "The preparative meeting informs this that the Friends living about Jesse Henley's and John Rich's, request indulgence in holding their meetings every other First day; therefore Robert Lamb, John Mills, John Bails, Jr., John Stone, Isaac Jones, and Robert Hodgson are appointed to visit them on that account, and they to return their sense and judgment to next meeting accordingly." 8th mo 21st, 1773. "The Friends appointed last meeting to visit the Friends about Jesse Henley's and John Rich's, report that they all complied therewith, and it is their minds that they should have a meeting for worship every other First day, with which this meeting agrees and allows until further orders." 1st mo 15th, 1774. In 12th month 1775, a meeting every Fourth day additional was granted, except on the day of the preparative

meeting at Centre. By some of the minutes of 1780, it appears that the meetings on Back Creek, which had been held circularly at two or more houses, became two separate meetings, and to both were granted both week day and First day meetings.

The country, which was then new, increased rapidly in population, and many of the emigrants were Friends from the eastern part of North Carolina. Accordingly the church rapidly increased in membership.

It has been said that members enough have removed westward from Back Creek monthly meeting during the past sixty years, to form a respectable Yearly Meeting. Many of the names of removing members from eastern North Carolina are well known among Friends in the west. Not alone by immigration did it receive additions to its fold, but many were received by conviction. The fate of one of the two meetings I nowhere find on record, but they were probably merged into one, for there seems to be a distinct record of Uharre meeting, which was below the mouth of Back Creek.

In 1786 a Preparative meeting was established at Back Creek, and it became a monthly meeting in 1792.

Friends at “Hugh Warry” made a request for a meeting in 1786, and a grant of indulgence of a meeting to Friends at “Uwarie” soon afterwards must refer to the same settlement. This meeting became part of Back Creek monthly meeting, though little is said about it in the minutes. The name of the meeting and of the river are spelled too many ways on the records, and in other places, that I shall confess myself unable to decide on its true orthography. Friends in Back Creek built a small meeting house early in their history, which was afterwards greatly enlarged so as readily to hold some five hundred persons. With the exception of the roof, it is in good repair for this country. The meeting house was enlarged in 1800.

When the frame had been completed and the floor laid, and before it was enclosed, a memorable meeting was held under its roof. Present at the meeting were two ministers, who were on their way to South Carolina as messengers of the Gospel of Peace. One of them was in the meridian of life, an able and fluent speaker in his own familiar English tongue, while his companion, my informant said he thought was “the youngest and tenderest looking man he ever saw.” Young as that man was, for he was only 26 years of age, his history had been of the most remarkable character. True as were his words of counsel, and faithful as was his allegiance to, and respect for the Supreme Ruler, and Prince of Peace, that young man had been an infidel, and

nominally a soldier. The words uttered upon that occasion are probably remembered by no one living, and they are now only to be found in an influence they have exerted on the character of immortal beings. In this respect, like our daily words and daily actions, those words and the gentle demeanor of those two men on that day must exert an eternal influence. Nearly forty years afterwards that young man, now in the decline of life, was to be seen by the same meeting house, when the first Friend arrived from the neighborhood. He with his companion had been brought to the place and left before the meeting hour, and their waiter had left them alone to return to his work. The first man to arrive from the neighborhood, was one who was a little boy at the time of the meeting mentioned above, but who had seen by this time many years of service in the church, especially in labors in behalf of the oppressed African people. As these two persons met, the first words of that minister, who had already eight times crossed the broad Atlantic as a messenger of glad tidings, as he addressed his friend in his still broken language were, in Quaker pleasantry, "We are still on the parish." It is hardly necessary for me to say that the middle-aged minister who was at the first meeting, or at least the first large meeting in Back Creek meeting house, was John Hall, and his youthful companion, who saw sixty years of service as a herald of the cross, was none other than Stephen Grellet.¹⁷ An examination of the records of Back Creek monthly meeting will show us that the church was often called upon to labor with its delinquent members, especially for drunkenness, and in some instances other breaches of the moral law, which were, however, less numerous than at Centre.

One peculiarity of the monthly meeting records, was the summary manner in which they dealt with those who broke over the rules of the Yearly Meeting in regard to marriage. The formal course of dealing was about like the following: "The preparative meeting complains of A. B. for accomplishing his marriage out of the Society of Friends. He is accordingly disowned from being a member of our society, until he shall come to a sight and sense of his misconduct." No committee was appointed to deal with the offender as in cases of drunkenness, fighting, and similar offences. One question naturally suggests itself: Did the society suffer any loss of those who would have been useful members, by such a summary course? They now appoint committees, but there is a general belief among the members that the rules of discipline are still too strict. It is a disownable offense to marry one not a member, or to attend such a marriage.

The following minute from the records at Centre may serve as a specimen of a complaint for two offences, and suggests the propriety of our clerks

studying punctuation: “The Preparative complains of T. W. for going to a marriage entertainment consummated contrary to discipline and likewise tying his hair behind[.] Robert Hodgson and John Leonard appointed to treat with him and report their care to next meeting.”

For a long time Back Creek monthly meeting consisted of the meetings of Back Creek and Uharre, and was held alternately at the two places. The meeting at Uharre has gone down, but the house is kept for use when travelling ministers wish to hold meetings at the place. Since the war the Freedmen have frequently used it for their meetings, and have had a Sabbath school in it. Back Creek meeting became nearly extinct, but several joined by conviction during the war, a school was started by the Baltimore Association, a successful Sabbath school was organized, and the meeting is now more encouragingly attended. During the summer season about 100 are usually at meeting on First days, when the weather is good. Friends have built a good school house near the meeting house, and when it is in session the pupils attend the week-day meeting. May the good works continue to prosper.

V

Just before Uharre meeting was laid down in 1864, a meeting was established by Back Creek Monthly meeting on Little River, seven miles south east of Back Creek meeting. This meeting still continues, and one recorded minister resides there. A First-day school has been kept up for two or three summers past, but has not prospered so fully as would be desirable; may those who are interested be encouraged still to press forward. It would be interesting to trace fully the history of this Monthly meeting whilst the dark cloud of war was rolling over it, but this must be only briefly touched upon, as it was nearly like that of Centre Monthly meeting. The meeting's greatest number, including minors, received at one meeting was sixteen, and as but one of these was subject to military duty, exemption can not have been the motive. Several of those who joined during the war were closely tried, and stood firm and seem likely to be useful members. As at other places, so it was here, that Friends suffered much from the local conscription officers. Just before the war closed, Wheeler's cavalry made a raid through Back Creek settlement, and much property was seized by them.¹⁸ Many of the trials which Friends endured in common with other union people was heightened by the trying suspense and dread of the unknown future, which so gloomily enshrouded their hopes. Between the official plunderers and the lawless robbers who took advantage of the

paralyzed state of the civil authorities, their condition was trying; but they were preserved by their ever watchful Father.

But I must proceed to look at some of the other Monthly meetings. The account of the establishment of the Back Creek Monthly meeting must serve as a specimen of the method of procedure in setting up a Monthly meeting in the days when friends were increasing and spreading among the wilds of Carolina, for to give thus fully an account of each one would require a great amount of research, and at the same time unduly enlarge my essays. Besides those meetings which set off to form Back Creek Monthly meeting, two meetings, one a large one, the other of fair size, belonging to Centre Monthly meeting were, notwithstanding, in one of them at least, a somewhat lukewarm condition, increasing in numerical strength, and in 1816 these meetings (Marlboro and Salem), were formed into a new Monthly meeting by the name of Marlboro. Soon after this meeting was established, we find two of its ministerial members were very actively engaged in holding meetings among Friends and others in central North Carolina. I refer to Dougan Clark and Peter Dicks, and few were the Monthly meetings for several years at which they did not either receive or return minutes for religious service in this field. For a time after her marriage with Dougan Clark, Asenith Clark also belonged to this Monthly meeting and was actively engaged in the same field. For a time a meeting was organized near where Dougan Clark lived, but it was not of long continuance.¹⁹ I do not know that any other meeting was ever established by Marlboro Monthly meeting until the new and promising little meeting opened last spring by the name of Poplar Ridge, which meets in a good new meeting house, and has a promising First-day school which averaged nearly fifty, I believe, during the past summer. A school is now in session in the new meeting house, under the Baltimore Association. Marlboro meeting is still large, has a promising First-day school, and is the seat of Marlboro academy, a very well conducted Monthly meeting school with a good sized new school house, and when full, employs two teachers, who are paid by the Baltimore Association. Salem meeting is small at present, and *still*, when compared with the days when Dougan Clark gave vent to his feelings in energetic peals which would enable us to class him with the "sons of thunder" of that age. The only recorded minister now in the Monthly meeting is Seth Barker of Marlboro. As in other instances, so in this it would be interesting to record the sufferings of Friends of Marlboro during war time, but great as they were in the aggregate, to recount individual instances will be beyond our limits. Nevertheless, we will try to pay a visit in the imagination to a humble cottage about the close of

1864. We shall find by that scanty board a woman whose seven little ones are around her but the largest one is hardly old enough to hold the plow. Why is that woman bathed in tears, and why does she find herself choking with every attempt to partake of the food before her? It cannot be Rachel weeping for her children, for they are all there; but we may ask ourselves, "where is he on whose strong arm she has been accustomed to lean as the bosom companion of her life?" Oh, where is he? Name it not in the presence of the heart-broken widow, to add by a renewed recollection to her pangs of sorrow; for faithful unto death he stood a witness of the gospel of peace, and died a martyr death at the Winder Hospital, Richmond, Va. That is the widow, and there are the children of the martyred Seth W. Laughlin.²⁰

We will now leave those meetings which branched from Centre Monthly meeting and we will next consider to some extent those meetings which grew out of New Garden monthly meeting, though I have as yet been unable to get access to its ancient records so fully as I would like. Why do not Friends try to keep the records of each meeting in some place of safety, instead of being scattered, and some of them lost? For several reasons an attempt to trace this system of meetings is an intricate problem. In the first place, the meetings have been many, and were scattered from Virginia to Georgia; and in the second place, the growth and downfall of Quarterly meetings, and the loss of many of the records make the task difficult and much of it impossible. We mentioned that Centre Monthly meeting was set off from New Garden Monthly meeting. The number of meetings which remained I have not ascertained, but it seems evident that Deep River Monthly meeting was established soon afterwards. Indeed, the progress of the society during thirty years, from 1772 as manifested by the increase in the number of meetings, was of a marked and striking character. Deep River Monthly meeting consisted of Deep River and Springfield, both of which have a continuance to the present. The following meetings branched westward from New Garden Monthly meeting: Muddy Creek meeting, in Surry county, which was in existence in 1789 but is now extinct; Blewes Creek meeting, in Stokes county, mentioned in 1792 but now extinct; and the following which (with perhaps the latter meeting) at one time formed Westfield Quarterly meeting, viz: Westfield Monthly meeting, consisting of the meeting at Westfield, one known as the Hollows, and one meeting in Carroll county, Va., and one in Grayson county, Va., all of which are now among the things that were; and Deep Creek Monthly meeting, which consisted of the meetings of Deep Creek, Hunting Creek, and Forbush, all of which remain as part of Deep River Quarterly meeting. We may we ask—why did so many of these meetings

become extinct? We shall find our answer among the consequences of slavery and unfaithfulness, and in the disposition to emigrate, which has had so powerful an influence in building so many meetings in the great west.

Endnotes

¹ The five essays appeared in the *Herald of Peace* as follows: 10th Mo. 1, 1868, p. 76; 11th Mo. 1, 1868, p. 104; 11th Mo. 15, 1868, pp. 118–19; 12th Mo. 1, 1868, p. 140; and 1st Mo. 15, 1869, p. 172. The first four essays were signed with just the initials “S. A. P.,” but the last is “by S. A. Purdie.”

² James Purdie Knowles, *Samuel A. Purdie: His Life and Letters, His Work as a Missionary and Spanish Writer and Publisher in Mexico and Central America*. (Plainfield, Ind.: Publishing Association of Friends, [1908]), 18–20.

³ *Ibid.*, 26–37.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 38–48, 52–53.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 54–58.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 234–36; Christina H. Jones, *American Friends in World Missions* (Elgin, Ill.: Brethren Printing House, 1946), 105–14.

⁷ Knowles, *Samuel A. Purdie*, 51.

⁸ During the American Revolution, the new state government required an oath of allegiance of all adult males. Although it was framed to allow Friends to affirm, and did not require them to pledge to bear arms, the yearly meeting still opposing thus taking sides in the conflict. Those who refused the oath had to pay a three-fold tax. See Dorothy Gilbert Thorne, “North Carolina Friends and the Revolution,” *North Carolina Historical Review*, 38 (July 1961), 330–35.

⁹ This problem was resolved in 1791, when the Cherokees ceded these lands in the Treaty of Holston. Thereafter Friends raised no questions about settlement on them, See Dorothy Lloyd Gilbert, “Quaker Migration to the Western Waters,” *East Tennessee Historical Society's Publications*, 18 (1946), p. 57.

¹⁰ Mahlon Hockett or Hoggatt (1772–1850) married Sarah Millikan at Springfield Monthly Meeting in 1795. They were members of Centre Monthly Meeting from 1809 to 1827. Both died at Springfield. See William Wade Hinshaw, ed., *Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy* (6 vols., Ann Arbor: Edwards Brothers, 1936–1950), I, 783, 856, 885.

¹¹ “Dr. W.” is almost certainly Dr. David Worth (1776–1844), a birthright Friend who had lost his membership. He was one of the leading physicians in the area, and served three terms in the North Carolina legislature. His wife Eunice (Gardner) Worth (1781–1866) remained a Friend until her death.

Both are buried at Centre. They were the parents of Jonathan Worth (1801–1869), governor of North Carolina during Reconstruction. See Ethel Stephens Arnett, *William Swaim, Fighting Editor: The Story of O. Henry's Grandfather* (Greensboro: Piedmont Press, 1963), 21–22; and Richard L. Zuber, *Jonathan Worth: The Biography of a Southern Unionist* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1965), 4–6.

¹² “W. B. H.” is William B. Hockett (1828–1905), who with his brothers Himelius (1825–1912) and Jesse (1826–1896) was forced into the Confederate army in 1862. A detailed account of their experiences is found in Fernando G. Cartland, *Southern Heroes, or the Friends in War Time* (Cambridge: Riverside, 1895), 231–85. William B. Hockett’s wife was Sybil (Branson) Hockett (1833–1904). See Sarah Myrtle Osborne and Theodore Edison Perkins, *Hocketts on the Move: The Hoggatt/Hockett Family in America* (Greensboro, N.C., 1982), 250.

¹³ See *An Account of the Sufferings of Friends of North Carolina Yearly Meeting, in Support of Their Testimony against War* (Baltimore: William K. Boyle, 1868).

¹⁴ “L. R.” is Lewis Reynolds (1819–1905), a leading Friend at Centre. See Hinshaw, ed., *Encyclopedia*, I, 666.

¹⁵ Centre records show two young men named Leonard who fit this description, John Milton (1839–1863) and Franklin (1840–1864), both sons of Charles and Anna (York) Leonard. See Hinshaw, *Encyclopedia*, I, 660.

¹⁶ For the strong unionism of Randolph and adjacent counties, and its temporary paralysis in the spring of 1861, see Charles C. Bolton, *Poor Whites of the Antebellum South: Tenants and Laborers in Central North Carolina and Northeast Mississippi* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1994), 139–60.

¹⁷ Grellet visited North Carolina in 1800 and in 1839. See Benjamin Seebohm, ed., *Memoirs of the Life and Gospel Labours of Stephen Grellet* (2 vols., Philadelphia: Henry Longstreth, 1860), I, 62–66, II, 434.

¹⁸ Confederate General Joseph Wheeler scoured central North Carolina for supplies for Gen. Joseph E. Johnston’s army in the spring of 1865. See Robert U. Johnson, ed., *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War* (4 vols., New York: Century, 1887–1888), IV, 704–05.

¹⁹ Peter Dicks (1771–1843) is buried in what was then the Salem Friends Burying Ground, now the cemetery of the New Salem United Methodist Church. Dougan Clark (1783–1855) and his second wife Asenath (Hunt) Clark (1785–1872), daughter of the prominent minister Nathan Hunt, were

“Quakerism in Dixie”

among the most prominent Friends in the yearly meeting between 1820 and 1860. They served as the first superintendents of New Garden Boarding School. See Dorothy Lloyd Gilbert, *Guilford: A Quaker College* (Greensboro: Guilford College, 1937), 31–32.

²⁰Seth W. Laughlin or Loflin, born in 1822, died Dec. 8, 1864. He and several other Marlboro Friends were drafted in 1864. Laughlin was sent to Petersburg, Virginia, where he was tortured and threatened with death for refusing to bear arms. See Hinshaw, ed., *Encyclopedia*, I, 750, 765; and Cartland, *Southern Heroes*, 210–13.

Friends Historical Collection

Annual Report 1998–1999

By

*Carole Edgerton Treadway and
Gwendolyn Gosney Erickson*

Introduction

As in last year's report, changes in staff and technology are outstanding in our memory of the year's events. Gwen Erickson's hours in the Friends Historical Collection were increased and our users are becoming accustomed to associating her with the collection. Increasingly they are calling for her and are recognizing her expertise and familiarity with the collection. We installed new software and acquired an additional computer, the latter courtesy of the North Carolina Friends Historical Society. Our record keeping is now almost entirely in electronic form.

Our statistics indicate that a trend noted last year is continuing and accelerating. The volume of requests for information received by electronic mail has, once again, almost doubled. This was not balanced by any decrease in the number of genealogy requests received by postal mail. However, there has been a notable decrease in the number of in-person researchers. These trends will affect how we plan for the delivery of services in the future, although in just what way, we do not yet know.

Staff

In June 1998 Carole Treadway began working one-half time in the first year of her phased early retirement. She will work one-third time during 1999–2000.

In June 1998 Gwen Gosney Erickson began a two-year appointment, continuing her work in Circulation and Information/Reference as needed

and increasing her hours in the Friends Historical Collection to fill in some of the staff time vacated by Carole Treadway. She will be increasing her hours in Friends Historical Collection to full-time beginning in June 1999 as Carole's hours decrease to one-third time.

Jane Miller began as North Carolina Yearly Meeting (FUM) Archives Assistant in September 1998. Nancy McLean filled in as Archives Assistant June through August 1998.

Student assistants this year were Hanna Passmore during the summer months, and Rachel Miller and Hanna Passmore during the school year. Hanna, who has worked as a student assistant for the past four years, graduated from Guilford this May. Rachel, completing her second year as an assistant, will continue to work in the Friends Historical Collection next year. During the summer we had additional assistance from DeShawn Martin, a local high school student who participated in a Greensboro city program to employ students and place them in local businesses and institutions where they would provide their service and gain valuable experience.

Docents and Collections Volunteers

Retiring docents: Celia Wenig, Edwin and Helen White.

Anne "Nancy" McLean, who has been volunteering as a collections volunteer since 1997, began volunteering in the research room.

The annual docents luncheon was held in the Walnut Room in Founders Hall on April 29. Alex Stoeson, Guilford College professor of history, presented excerpts from his recent Rembert W. Patrick Lecture on Clyde and Ernestine Milner.

Archives and Manuscripts

Minutes and records were received from thirty-three meetings, including twenty-four meetings of North Carolina Yearly Meeting (Friends United Meeting) and eight of Southern Appalachian Yearly Meeting and Association.

Elizabeth Very continued processing the papers of Samuel and Miriam Levering. She is now working on additions given to the collection by their son, Ralph Levering. Nancy McLean has completed the processing of the papers of J. Floyd Moore that have been received to date. More are expected.

Gifts

Among the gifts received this year the following are especially noted. The collection received very generous gifts from Frances Osborne Gust and Mary Ellen Sarbaugh. Frances Gust was a long-time friend of the collection who was a 1929 graduate of the college and a descendant of earlier generations of

students in the boarding school. Her gift came in the form of a bequest. Mary Ellen Sarbaugh's gift is in honor of her friend Wilbert Braxton and to support the gift of family papers that he is preparing to give the collection in the future.

Jacqueline Vestal Bywaters donated memoirs of her grandfather, Tilghman Vestal. Vestal was a young Quaker from Tennessee and a member of the Mendenhall family of Guilford County. The memoirs recount his experiences as a conscientious objector during the Civil War.

Jane Finneran contributed Thomas Winston Inman's accounts of his visit to North Carolina in 1923 and of his work with the Blue Ridge Mission of Virginia, a project of North Carolina Yearly Meeting.

Thomas Hill continued his valuable work of listing all of the known Friends meetings, their dates, affiliations, and locations in his *Monthly Meetings of North America: An Index*. This year he contributed "Listings of Local Meeting Records in the Yearly Meeting Vault for Friends Church Southwest," and typescripts of Green Plain Monthly Meeting minutes (Ohio), 1821–1879, prepared by Roger S. Boone.

Ralph Levering gave several boxes of additional materials of the papers of Samuel and Miriam Levering that document their years of work on the Law of the Sea and the Save our Seas educational project.

Louise Brown Wilson gave her correspondence with Howard Thurman, notable religious leader, author, and former dean of the Marsh Chapel of Boston University. The correspondence covers the years 1958–1980.

Edith W. Mackie gave letters written by her father, Walter Woodard, to her mother in 1918 when he was working in France for the Y.M.C.A.

The North Carolina Friends Historical Society gave to the collection a computer with up-to-date word processing and data base management software, with the provision that the society can enter and maintain its membership list in the computer.

Research Projects and Notable Events

Research projects that resulted in conference papers or published works were as follows: Daniel Salemsen completed work for his paper, "The North Carolina Quaker Experience in the Civil War: A Reassessment." It was presented at the Conference of Quaker Historians and Archivists held at Stony Run Friends meetinghouse in Baltimore June 19–21, 1998. In its final form, the paper will be Salemsen's master's thesis at North Carolina State University. Also on the program was a paper presented by Damon D. Hickey

“Francis T. King of Baltimore: Godfather of Carolina Quaker Revivalism.” The research for this paper was done in the collection while Damon Hickey was writing his book, *Sojourners No More: The Quakers in the New South, 1865–1920*. It was published by the North Carolina Friends Historical Society and North Carolina Yearly Meeting in 1997.

Feature writer Ned Harrison researched an article on the Civil War, which was published in the *Greensboro News & Record*.

Melva Greene concluded preparation of her history of Pine Hill Friends Meeting, which was published by North Carolina Friends Historical Society, North Carolina Yearly Meeting (FUM), and Pine Hill Friends Meeting in April 1999. The title is *Walk with Us: Pine Hill's Heritage and Hope*.

Alex Stoesen researched extensively in the papers of Clyde and Ernestine Milner in preparation for the annual Guilford College history department Rembert W. Patrick Lecture. His title is “Clyde and Ernestine’s College, 1930–1964: Patterns of Power.”

Guilford College senior Olivia Riordan researched the history of racial integration at Guilford College for her honors paper. She prepared a presentation based on her research for the Quaker Leadership Scholars Conference on Equality held in April.

Other research included the following: Louis Perez, professor of history at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill continued his research on Quaker missionaries in Cuba using the Sylvester and Mary Mather Jones scrapbooks and albums. A UNC–CH graduate student also researched the same topic. Other topics included Quakers and the Greensboro civil rights movement, reactions to the Nat Turner rebellion of 1831, Quakers and slavery in the revolutionary war era. The Underground Railroad continues to be the topic about which we receive inquiries most often, although there is almost no documentation for the activity that oral history records in this area.

The staff made presentations to the archives class at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro and to the historic preservation class at Randolph Technical Community College. Hanna Passmore made a presentation on the Quaker peace testimony to a Sunday school class visiting from New Garden Meeting.

North Carolina Friends meetings were the subjects of several investigations: Goldsboro, Hunting Creek, Pine Hill, Providence, Concord, Bethel (Southern Quarter), Mount Airy, Chatham.

Book Reviews

Friends in Civilian Public Service: Quaker Conscientious Objectors in World War II Look Backward and Look Forward. Wallingford, PA; Pendle Hill, 1998. 370 pages, illustrations, index. Paper, \$19.95.

There are CPS stories, many of them. Some told and retold. But never have so many been heard and recorded verbatim as in the pages of this book. Published by Pendle Hill, this Quaker center for study and contemplation hosted a gathering of World War II conscientious objectors, including a few wives, plus some COs from the Korean and Vietnam wars. Unlike preceding CPS reunions, this conference asked participants to "reflect on their experiences and analyze the implications" for the church agencies that supported the program.

The written record of this conference lived up to these expectations as invited speakers, panelists, and audience volunteered experiences. They spoke on subjects such as: "The CPS Years: Uncommon Opportunities for Service, Community and Leadership Development," "The CPS Legacy in United States Institutions," and "Building a Culture of Peace: The CPS Generation's Contribution." Hearing the many personal experiences highlighted in these areas, the reader would concur with keynote speaker, Steve Cary, former CPS camp director and long-time American Friends Service Committee staff, who stated, "CPS was the finest training ground for pacifists that has ever been devised." Dan Seeger, Pendle Hill executive secretary, echoed that claim, "An entire generation of potent leadership was forged which had dramatically impacted history in the decades following World War II."

Commenting on those decades, William Yolton, former executive director of the National Interreligious Service Board for Conscientious Objectors, credited CPS for its impact on the treatment of the mentally ill, on public

health, on the development of peace study programs and of socially responsible investments, conscientious objection to payment of war taxes, and the current National Campaign for a Peace Tax Fund.

This volume is an unique addition to other published accounts of the CPS experience.

Wilton Hartzler
High Point, North Carolina

Cathy Gaskill. *Ruth's Gift*. Melbourne Beach, Florida: Canmore Press, 1998. Paper, 150 pages, illustrations. \$15.

Have you ever wondered what everyday life was like for early nineteenth century Quakers in rural North Carolina? Cathy Gaskill, Quaker storyteller and writer, recounts such a tale in *Ruth's Gift*, a story passed down to her through the generations about her great-great-great-grandparents, Ruth Winslow and Bob Jones.

For readers new to Quakerism, Cathy Gaskill skillfully interweaves the customs, beliefs, and attitudes Quakers share, into her story. Readers, young and old, already familiar with these topics can enjoy the tale of love between Ruth and Bob, deeply mixed with a realistic portrayal of the joys and hardships of marriage.

Open the first page of *Ruth's Gift* and you will be quickly immersed in nineteenth century life in North Carolina. First we meet young Charlie, a runaway from Swansborough, intent on finding someone to teach him farming. Along the way he changes his name to "Bob Jones" and has the good fortune to meet Ruth's father, Eleazar Winslow, a Quaker farmer from Back Creek in Randolph County who sets about in a genteel way to show Bob the Quaker way of farm life.

As the author recounts the family tale, Ruth emerges as the central character. Every page recounts her courage, faith, and intelligence in meeting the challenges of everyday life. We learn what it took for her to survive and the burdens shared by caring Friends. It was Ruth's kindness towards a neighbor that brought on her consumption. But that did not dampen her will. When Bob proposed marriage to her, she asked if he would consider a true marriage relationship, one in which husbands and wives are equals, independence is mutual, and obligations are reciprocal. Their love never wanes and when he thinks a move to Indiana might ease Ruth's consumption, they pack up and leave, taking freed slaves along with them to safety in the free state.

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Quaker artist Jan VanBraeken's pen and ink drawings help set the tone for the book. Her drawings vividly depict the emotions behind the Cathy Gaskill's story, the pain and suffering of people as they travel, experience childbirth, and endure the work of daily life.

Treat yourself and a young adult to this tale of a Quaker family that continues to go forth with Ruth's gifts in hand. Learn what it took to survive and how the courage of one generation has been passed on to the next giving hope to all to continue to "walk in the Light."

Jane Miller

Greensboro, North Carolina

Calhoun D. Geiger. *Leadings along the Way: Stories from the Life of Calhoun D. Geiger*. Published by Calhoun D. Geiger and available from Durham Friends Meeting, 404 Alexander Avenue, Durham, North Carolina 27705, 1998. Paper, 120 pages. \$10 to Meeting Building Fund.

Cal's stories are the stories of a quiet, ordinary man who proved over and over to be extraordinary, but only, he would say, because he followed the leadings of the spirit in his life. He tells his stories in writing much as he has told them in Friends meetings over the years. For those of us who have heard many of the stories, this book puts the stories in order and context. For those who have not heard them, here is a chance to let this gentle man tell you of the fairly amazing events that occurred in his life as he looks back on eighty years of life.

Cal was born in Florida, one of six children, raised by devoutly religious but non-church-going parents. All the children were home schooled, because school was five miles away and the bus was a mule pulling a wagon. His childhood was equal parts of study, hard work as the family grew their own food, and fun with his family and community.

In his late teens Cal began to attend a nearby Methodist Church where he met Virgie Peake, who was to become his wife. The church was served by a young and thoughtful minister with whom he had many discussions, including much consideration of the anti-war stance of the Methodist Church at this time. As Cal, his brother, and two cousins talked, Cal asked, "What is the point of studying the life of a man who lived 2000 years ago and taught and lived a life of absolute love, if it does not apply to me right now?" And so the four young men all registered as conscientious objectors.

Cal's first assignment as a CO was to Buck Creek Camp in the North Carolina mountains. Cal knew of historic Quakers but knew nothing of present day Friends. His conversations with fellow CO, Vernon Barber, led

him to realize that he was almost a Friend without knowing it. While he had never heard the phrase “the inner light,” he understood it immediately and was to lead a life much guided by the inner light and, as one reading his story learns, clearly a life much in keeping with Quaker testimonies.

Just as the testimony of nonviolence led him to become a CO, a concern for social action led him to request an assignment to work at Eastern State Hospital in Williamsburg, Virginia, a mental hospital founded before the American Revolution and, the COs often joked, little changed in the intervening years. Because he was physically strong, Cal was assigned to night duty in the worst ward. Even there he was able to see that of God in his patients and won the ward not by strength but by singing hymns. He and the other COs were responsible for many changes in the way the institution was run.

Following the war, Cal returned to Jacksonville, where he married Virgie, began a family, and helped start the Friends meeting in Jacksonville. The testimony of equality led him to encourage the Girl Scouts to integrate their camps and it finally happened. Though a cross was burned on the Geiger’s lawn, Cal was also named “Man of the Year” by the Girl Scouts of America.

He was employed by the Jacksonville Boys Club, which he found very militaristic. During the visit of a large number of boys to an aircraft carrier, Cal, having been invited to eat with the officers, did not hesitate to speak truth to power by explaining his pacifist stance when asked the role he had played in World War II. The commander of the ship was impressed with Cal and, having learned of AFSC from a sailor, wrote and recommended that they hire Cal, making him the only AFSC staffperson ever hired on the recommendation of an officer of the US Navy.

Cal worked for AFSC during the years of the civil rights movement. He then worked for Arthur Morgan School in Celo, North Carolina, as director of Quaker Lake conference center near Greensboro, North Carolina, and later at Carolina Friends School in Durham, North Carolina, until he retired. His account of his years is sprinkled with stories of his adventures, of being struck by lightning, of meetings with a youth gang, of a two-hour car trip during which he encountered three traffic accidents and assisted in each case.

I met Cal and Virgie first in 1959, when chance and having Northern parents plunged me into the school desegregation effort. Cal was among the staff at the High Point AFSC office who worked so hard to make this change a peaceful one. As a teenager, I listened to his stories and none

Book Reviews

fascinated me more than the story he told of his encounter, as he plowed a field in Florida, with an escaped prisoner. Cal tells of this and of subsequent meetings with this man, whose life was transformed by these encounters. Little did I imagine then that almost forty years later, I would be at Durham Friends Meeting when we found in our mailbox one First day morning a letter dictated by this man from his death bed, which concluded "When you get through writing it up [i.e., the letter], send it to Cal's friends in Durham. I want them to know all about the humble, hard-working man that is among them. Thank God for Cal Geiger."

Carol Passmore

Durham Monthly Meeting of Friends

Conference of Quaker Historians and Archivists

The thirteenth biennial Conference of Quaker Historians and Archivists will meet at Earlham College, Richmond, Indiana, from June 23-25. Meeting at the same time and place are the Friends Association for Higher Education and the Friends Council on Education.

To register or for more information, contact Thomas Hamm, Earlham College, Richmond, IN 47374.

The North Carolina Friends Historical Society

1998–1999

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The Southern Friend



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Millennium Issue

*Friends Culture in Colonial
North Carolina: 1672-1789*

BY SETH BEESON HINSHAW

Book Review:

*Minutiae of the Meeting:
Essays on Quaker Connections*

MAX L. CARTER

Brief Notices:

*Index to Hinshaw's Encyclopedia of
American Quaker Genealogy*

*William Braxton, Planter and His
Descendants*

WILLIAM L. BRAXTON

*Teagues, Hocketts,
and Allied Families*

DOROTHY IRENE TEAGUE POLLET,
COMPILER, WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF
THEODORE EDISON PERKINS

The Southern Friend

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Editorial Policy

The editors welcome articles on any aspect of the history of Friends in the Southeast. Articles must be well written and properly documented. All copy should be typed double-space, and should conform to the most recent edition of *The Chicago Manual of Style* and Kate L. Turabian's *A Manual for Writers of Term Papers, Theses, and Dissertations*. The author-date form of referencing is preferred. See section 15:4ff in *Chicago Manual*. Articles and correspondence should be addressed to Carole E. Treadway, Hege Library, Guilford College, 5800 West Friendly Avenue, Greensboro, NC 27410-4175.

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Articles appearing in this journal are abstracted and indexed in *Historical Abstracts*, *America: History and Life*, and *Periodical Source Index* (PERSI).

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Cover Illustration

"Friends' Meeting House at New Garden, North Carolina, 1869. Erected in 1791." Lithograph by John Collins. Courtesy of the Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College.

North Carolina Friends Historical Society

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Erratum, *The Southern Friend*, Vol. XXII, Numbers 1–2
(Spring–Autumn 2000), p. 3

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Friends Culture in Colonial North Carolina, 1672–1789

By

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Introduction

“Of making books there is no end. . . . Why then add to the number?” This pertinent question was posed in 1905 by George Pitt and should be seriously considered by authors today.¹ A perusal of recent issues of *Quaker History* reveals that sixty-five books (excluding genealogical works) have been printed in the last three years that deal in some way with the history of Quakers. With a flood of material being produced, it is only prudent for me to justify my offering of an account of the early history of North Carolina Yearly Meeting (NCYM).

There have been two major works published which deal with the history of NCYM. The first of these was *Southern Quakers and Slavery* by Stephen Weeks.² This book sketches the history of Baltimore, Virginia, and North Carolina yearly meetings with an emphasis on how Friends dealt with the issue of slavery. As one of the first historians to write social history, Weeks deviated from the accepted focus of historians on political history. However, his writing is firmly cemented in the scholarly histories of the time, which do not have the strong chapter organization and documentation that late twentieth century readers expect. In addition, some important primary sources have come to light in the century since Weeks undertook his research, including some early minute books.

The second major publication dealing with the history of NCYM is *The*

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Carolina Quaker Experience which was written by my second cousin twice removed, Seth Bennett Hinshaw.³ Hinshaw's greatest contributions are centered in his narrative of the twentieth century, no doubt due to his involvement and firsthand knowledge of the events being described. While these recent events are noteworthy, it is also important to note that the highest membership in NCYM was probably reached around 1800. When considering the scope of his work, covering 312 years of history, we must give him credit for allotting a quarter of his text to NCYM prior to 1800.

The analysis of the history of NCYM that I offer differs both in degree and in kind from the two above-mentioned works. It is different in degree because I read all of the extant minute books and perused other non-Quaker primary sources to achieve a comprehensive analysis, which was precluded by the grand scope of Weeks and Hinshaw. My work is different in kind because the guiding principle of my research was my effort to answer the question, "What do the available primary sources say about the ways in which Friends in colonial NCYM dealt with the challenges which confronted them?" (The primary sources do not identify slavery as the guiding principle of this era, partially because slavery was not an issue for over half of the era I researched.)

Until quite recently, the focus of research in American Quaker history was Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (PYM). While that body was significant in and of itself, we might recall that PYM was the only one of the ancient six American yearly meetings in which Friends held such a degree of political, social, and economic influence. The experience of Friends elsewhere was quite different: they were disenfranchised, unfairly taxed, and oppressed for their faith. There is a need to examine the history of other yearly meetings as well.

One final issue that should be addressed is the cutoff date for the events under discussion. At the time of my original research, I chose the date 1789 because that year marks the beginning of the nineteenth century in American political history (with the establishment of the federal government). In considering the year 1789 again, it is hard to favor a different year as preferable. Friends at the end of the colonial revolt had practically reached the most complex state of development that they would reach prior to the Hicksite schism of 1827–28. In addition, the emigration to the Midwest, which began soon after 1800, depleted many meetings in NCYM within two decades and erased much of the numerical growth of the previous two decades. From the perspective of time, the years 1790–1805 represent the plateau between the first and the second stages of NCYM history.

Chapter I

The Beginnings of North Carolina Yearly Meeting of Friends, 1672–1698

When the first Quaker minister reached the Albemarle settlement in the Carolina Colony in 1672, he found fertile ground to sow the seeds of his faith. There were no established Anglican worship services in the colony, and no Anglican missionary visited the region at all until 1700. Although the Lords Proprietors intended to establish Anglicanism as the official religion of the colony, they welcomed dissenters in the colony's charter. Natural disasters also served to prepare the hearts of the colonists: hurricanes in 1667, 1669, and 1670, and a drought followed by a long rainy season in 1668 that destroyed their crops.¹

William Edmundson, a minister of the Society of Friends, held the first religious service on record in North Carolina in 1672. One of the original goals of his travels in Albemarle was to visit Henry and Hannah (Baskel) Phelps, who were among the organizers of the first established Friends meeting in New England (at Salem, Massachusetts). They and their neighbors, Christopher and Hannah Nicholson, were Friends who had fled from New England as religious refugees in 1664. Edmundson called a meeting at the Phelps's house, which many of the Albemarle residents attended. Edmundson complained that the settlers "had little or no religion, for they came and sat down in the meeting smoking their pipes." After the meeting, the settlers wanted him to stay.² Among the visitors at the Phelps house was the local justice of the peace, Francis Toms. Edmundson wrote that Toms and his wife Priscilla "received the truth with gladness," and later he held a meeting in their house before returning to Virginia. On his return trip, Edmundson met George Fox on Shelter Island (New York) and gave an account of his work in the southern colonies. As a result of this conversation, Fox decided to visit North Carolina later in the year.³

George Fox and his fellow travelers in the British colonies were trying to accomplish several goals. Their major goal was to spread the gospel throughout the English-speaking peoples of the New World. A second goal was to establish an organizational structure for the Society of Friends. In England,

Parliament had recently passed the Second Conventicle Act, which banned all religious meetings outside of the Church of England and granted extensive freedom for authorities to break up illegal conventicles. The Quaker leadership in England set about to establish monthly meetings in each county to bring local Friends together to help those who were suffering under the act. During his visit to the New World, Fox established monthly meetings in Barbados, Maryland, New York, New England, and Virginia.⁴

Fox arrived in Albemarle in Ninth month (September) 1672. He held his first meeting at Hugh Smith's house. Nathaniel Batts, the first permanent English settler of North Carolina, came to this meeting. Batts knew a woman in Cumberland, England, who recovered from a sickness after Fox and some other Friends laid their hands on her and prayed for her. Fox spent one night at Governor John Jenkins's house and then held a meeting at the house of Joseph Scott, a member of the colonial Assembly. After eighteen days in North Carolina and many convincements, Fox began his return trip to England.⁵

The newly convinced Friends in North Carolina found an opportunity to act in unison when a controversial land issue emerged. The Assembly of 1672 was debating the Fundamental Constitutions that had been sent to them from the Lords Proprietors. This document contained some significant changes from earlier laws. According to the Great Deed of Grant, issued in 1668, settlers could acquire land on similar terms to those in Virginia. The proprietors now proposed to change the law by increasing the quit rents (which was the amount of money that settlers paid for use of the land; land was owned at that time by a select handful of men who let out their property to lower classes and charged quit rents). The Friends opposed the prospect of changing the agreements without their consent. Francis Toms, Christopher Nicholson, and William Wyatt drafted a letter to the proprietors stating that although they accepted the terms of the Fundamental Constitutions, they also were going to continue to abide by the Great Deed. For the first time, North Carolina Friends worked together to further their common interests.⁶

When William Edmundson returned to North Carolina in 1677, he found that Friends in Pasquotank and Perquimans precincts were spreading their faith among the settlers. Edmundson stayed the first night with James Hill, who had married the widow of Henry Phelps. Edmundson attended a meeting that had been appointed previously by the settlers at Francis Toms' house. He held several other meetings, noting in his journal that "there was

no room for the priests, for Friends were finely settled.” Satisfied with the progress of the Albemarle Quakers, Edmundson set out for London.⁷

Not long after Edmundson’s 1677 visit, the Culpeper’s Rebellion occurred in Albemarle. Members of the Assembly who opposed the collecting of customs (import duties) took over the government and imprisoned Governor Thomas Miller. John Culpeper became acting governor as president of the governor’s council, and the revolutionaries began to try Miller and his adherents for various crimes. Both sides in the revolt tried to enlist the support of the Friends with little success; two Friends who were serving in the Assembly felt that the Culpeper party “acted against [Governor Miller out of] Envie & Mallice.” The Friends’ refusal to acknowledge either group as the official government disturbed the ruling party. Magistrates went to Friends’ homes and took their guns to stop them from using violence to support the jailed governor. In addition, three Friends who happened to be in Virginia at the time were arrested: James Hill, Francis Toms, and Christopher Nicholson. The latter two of these Friends were members of the Assembly.⁸

The Albemarle Friends decided to make a statement against the actions of the new colonial government of Albemarle. They went to Timothy Biggs (the deputy for the Earl of Craven in the colony) on Seventh month 13, 1679, and presented a remonstrance to the proprietors that set forth their innocence in Culpeper’s Rebellion. The Friends said, “We are a separated people and have stood single from all the seditious actions which hath appeared within this County.” At the time of the coup d’etat, “wee . . . could nott joyne with them in the same.” The government had described the Quakers as “plotters and contrivers of Treason and Wagers of Warr and vile persons and disquieters of the peace and scandalous base Intelligencies which things they cannott make appeare against us though falsely laid to our charge.” Twenty-one people signed their names and stated they had lived in the area since 1664; they had lived peaceably and hoped that those who had led the rebellion would be punished.⁹

At about the time the remonstrance was adopted (and possibly due to the need for corporate action resulting from Culpeper’s Rebellion), the Friends established a monthly meeting for Pasquotank and Perquimans precincts. The first mention of it is in 1679, when Solomon Pool married Margaret White. In their marriage certificate, the following words appear: “we laying it before the mans meeting befor our mareg was propounded and soe the meeting did desire us to waight for a time to inquire the truth whether we were Clear from all others.”¹⁰

This fragmentary set of minutes gives us some indications of the early years of the monthly meeting. Written minutes are extant from 1680, though they are not complete. The Friends held “Man & womans Meetings” eight times each year and quarterly meeting in the other four months. By 1681, the monthly meeting was circulating between the houses of Christopher Nicholson on Perquimans River and Henry Prows on Little River. In 1682, the monthly meeting set off a new monthly meeting at the house of Jonathan Phelps in Perquimans Precinct. In 1684, this second monthly meeting began to circulate between Phelps’s house and William Wyatt’s house at Yeopim on the western side of Perquimans Precinct. There was now a monthly meeting for Pasquotank and those Friends in Perquimans who lived near Little River and one for the remainder of Perquimans Friends.¹¹

The whole idea behind the monthly sessions in which decisions were made pertaining to the whole monthly meeting was that God’s will would be executed through a rule by his saints (*i.e.*, all of the members, not just the leaders). Each member would seek the Lord’s will on the matter at hand. The matter was decided when all were in unity. In these meetings, early Friends considered a diversity of business as the following instances indicate. The monthly meeting took notice of several Friends who were jailed for six months in 1680 for refusing to pay muster fines during the political unrest. The monthly meeting established a special six-weeks meeting at the house of Henry Prows in 1681, and it later reminded the Yeopim Friends to attend the monthly meeting when it met at Jonathan Phelps’ house on Perquimans River (and not just when it met in their community).¹²

Another power of the monthly meeting at this time was the oversight of marriages. As mentioned earlier, couples were expected to announce their intentions at one meeting and wait a month for a committee to investigate their clearness. Frequently, the couples had to continue their intentions at quarterly meeting because the monthly meeting did not actually sit each month. While meetings rarely ever obstructed a couple’s plans, one instance of this option by the monthly meeting appears in the early records. In 1681, the monthly meeting announced its disunity with the marriage intentions of Charles Prows (though the scant records do not state how the couple reacted to its decision).¹³

The situation of Albemarle Friends weighed on the hearts of many Friends throughout the world. In 1681, George Fox wrote a letter stating, “If you of Ashley River [South Carolina] and that way, and you of Albemarle River and that way had once a year, or once in a half-year, a meeting together,

somewhere in the middle of the country, it might be well.”¹⁴ In 1683 Maryland Half Years Meeting wrote to Fox: “There are many Friends in this province who find a concern laid upon them to visit the seed of God in Carolina, for we understand that the spoiler makes havoc of the flock there: so here are many weighty Friends intending to go down there on that service.”¹⁵ London Friends also expressed satisfaction that Quakers in Pennsylvania and New Jersey “were stirred up in the spirit and power of the Lord to visit the churches of Christ in New England, Virginia, Maryland and Carolina.”¹⁶

Albemarle County and its Quaker population received an unexpected boost in 1683 when John Archdale arrived in the colony. Archdale had been converted to Quakerism by George Fox, and he was now one of the proprietors. The proprietors decided to remove all the people connected with Culpeper’s Rebellion from political office, so they sent word to Governor Sothel that he was to consult with Archdale in making official appointments. Archdale appointed two important Friends to the governor’s council, Francis Toms and William Newby. Toms had been serving in public office since 1669; Archdale now appointed him to the offices of justice of the county court, justice of the Palatine’s court, justice of the general court, and justice of the court of chancery. Archdale thus introduced Friends into the highest levels of government in Albemarle.¹⁷

During 1685 and 1686, Governor Sothel left the colony temporarily, with Archdale serving as acting governor. Archdale was instrumental in ending a dispute between two Indian tribes that almost brought them to bloodshed. He wrote a letter to George Fox during his brief tenure as governor in which he said, “Ye people are very fearful of falling into some troubles againe if I should leave them before my Bro. Sothell returns which makes my stay here longer.”¹⁸

When Archdale returned to England in 1686, the Albemarle settlement entered a period of political instability. Governor Sothel, without immediate supervision of the proprietors, conducted an unprincipled administration; after the news of the Glorious Revolution reached the settlement, he was removed from office and convicted of extortion, failure to follow due process of law, and bribery. Although historians agree that Sothel’s removal was a step forward, the lack of cohesion in the Assembly caused the political situation in Carolina to disintegrate. Philip Ludwell was appointed governor and seemed promising when he re-established the terms of the Great Deed of Grant, but his term was shortened because the proprietors had chosen to set aside the Great Deed. In 1693 Thomas Smith was appointed governor of

the colony, but within a year he wrote to the proprietors that the only way to deal with the troubles in the province would be to send a proprietor to take charge. In the fall of 1694, therefore, the proprietors appointed John Archdale the new governor of the Carolina colony and gave him the authority to enact legislation on their behalf.¹⁹

John Archdale had remained active in the politics of North Carolina after his return to England. His deputy in the colony was Daniel Akehurst, a Friends minister who had been imprisoned in 1671 in Sussex, England, in “a nasty hold called the Darkhouse” for speaking in a Friends meeting. After a brief trip to New England in 1675, Archdale selected Akehurst to serve as his deputy in Albemarle and appointed him to the governor’s council. Around 1693 Akehurst became colonial secretary of North Carolina and possibly served as acting governor for a few weeks during that time period.²⁰

An interesting incident in 1694 showed the amount of authority that Friends exercised in the colony. Governor Sothel died, and some challenges to the settling of his estate surfaced. Daniel Akehurst was appointed to settle Sothel’s debts with John Blaney, an importer. After looking through the records, Akehurst determined that Sothel owed Blaney “five barrells of corn for the freight.” Francis Toms was asked to pay the amount to Blaney from the estate. One of the items under consideration was a box that Sothel had brought from London on his last trip. Upon his arrival, an Albemarle woman named Elizabeth Banks claimed that the box was sent to her by her brother in London and hired Francis Toms to act as her attorney. Sothel and Toms visited John Porter (of whom more later) to open the contested box in Sothel’s presence. One of the first items removed from the box was a piece of lace; Sothel claimed it was his property. Toms then asked about two guineas alleged to be in the box, and Sothel said that the money was his, which he would need for a return trip to London (which he died before making). Sothel stated that he planned to settle with the London merchant at the time of his trip. Toms’ questioning was pointed because he had just been appointed collector of customs (import duties). Again, the incomplete state of records prevents us from ascertaining the final destination of the contested box, but it is worth noting that Banks had hired Toms to defend her possessions when his office as collector of customs would seem to have been a conflict of interest.²¹

Archdale arrived in North Carolina in 1695 to take office as governor. He spent some time in Pasquotank County with his daughter, who had married Emanuel Lowe. Archdale reappointed Thomas Harvey deputy governor in

Albemarle and appointed Francis Toms to serve as collector of quit rents. He also restored the repealed provisions of the Great Deed of Grant. During his term as governor, the Albemarle Assembly attempted to name a new county in his honor, but Archdale insisted on naming it Pamlico. Governor Archdale dealt successfully with several problems in South Carolina and then returned to Albemarle in 1697. He traveled with the Friends minister James Dickinson through Pasquotank and Perquimans counties that year before leaving the New World to spend his remaining years in England.²²

During this era, many of the sites for holding Friends meetings changed. Jonathan Phelps and Christopher Nicholson died, and Henry Prows of Little River disappears from the records. The meetings at Jonathan Phelps's house and Christopher Nicholson's house were discontinued, while the meeting at Henry Prows' was moved to the house of Henry White. Quarterly meeting was moved to the house of Henry White, and Perquimans Monthly Meeting was held in the house of Francis Toms.²³

It is during these years that we find the earliest cases of a meeting working with disorderly members. (One must keep in mind that the increasing quantity of records throughout the 1690s can skew our understanding of the development of the concern for personal conduct; there may well have been prior cases which do not appear in the extant records.) Because Friends believed that the Light of Christ placed the same leadings for personal holiness in the heart of every person, they looked to the business meetings to be a time of considering their behavior, so that the gathered body would sense these principles for holy living. They also expected the attenders (there was no recorded membership at this time!) to listen and be willing to be instructed by the wisdom that was generated. The first recorded complaint against the behavior of a member is found in 1694, when Perquimans Monthly Meeting considered the case of Robert Harmon, who had been drinking to excess and dancing. When complaints arose the next year that two other Friends were not attending meeting, the monthly meeting appointed some Friends to visit the men and ascertain their reasons for neglecting to attend meeting. The available records do not indicate the response of the people in question, but the records show that the monthly meeting was carrying out responsibilities which were commonly found in Friends meeting minutes elsewhere.²⁴

The quarterly meeting records also indicate that it was carrying out the functions associated with quarterly meetings in other yearly meetings. When a copy of George Fox's *Journal* arrived in North Carolina in 1695, the

quarterly meeting sent a message to the monthly meetings directing them to circulate the book among the attenders. At the next quarterly meeting, Friends appointed Robert Wilson, Francis Toms, and Henry White to draft an epistle to London Yearly Meeting and inform British Friends of the state of Friends in North Carolina.²⁵

Another important development in the quarterly meeting was the hearing of differences among members. George Fox urged Friends to follow the advice of the Scriptures in settling their differences among themselves and not going to court. In 1696 the quarterly meeting settled its first difference. Robert and Ann Wilson had decided not to attend meeting because Mary Toms unjustly criticized them. The situation was difficult since the meeting was held in the house of Mary's father, Francis Toms. As the rift between the Wilsons and Mary widened, the Wilsons resorted to avoiding meetings so they would also avoid encounters with Mary. The quarterly meeting decided that Mary "give forth a Judgment against that Speireit that Lead her to Speake those Evell words" against the Wilsons and that the Wilsons should begin attending meetings again. The quarterly meeting further decided to reorganize Perquimans Monthly Meeting; in odd months, it would meet on the east side of Perquimans River at Francis Toms' house, and in even months it would meet on the west side of Perquimans River at the Wilson's house. Meeting for worship would also alternate between their two houses.²⁶

The structure of the Friends in North Carolina became complete in 1698. At the quarterly meeting in Fourth month, four important decisions were made:

1. All quarterly meetings were moved to the last Seventh day of the month. Monthly meetings would meet each month henceforth.
2. The fall session of quarterly meeting would no longer sit; in its place, representatives from the monthly meetings would sit in the capacity of North Carolina Yearly Meeting.
3. Another meeting for worship in Perquimans County was established at the house of Thomas Cartwright, to be held on First days only.
4. A Discipline was adopted for the new yearly meeting, consisting of a list of twenty-one items to be read at each session of quarterly meeting.²⁷

The first session of North Carolina Yearly Meeting was held at the house of Francis Toms on 26 Seventh month 1698. It was attended by William Ellis and Aaron Atkinson from England. The yearly meeting considered a proposal from Pasquotank Monthly Meeting that each meeting appoint two Friends to attend all its sessions (a capacity later to be called elders). Since

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the minutes have not survived, there is no indication what the Friends at the first session of North Carolina Yearly Meeting decided, although Atkinson later wrote, “things [were] much out of order amongst Friends, and wrong minded people [were] bearing sway.”²⁸

The decision to establish a yearly meeting for North Carolina brought the Albemarle Friends into the mainstream of Friends in the world. The structure of the yearly meeting consisted of a monthly meeting for Pasquotank and Little River which met at the house of Henry White and one for Perquimans which met alternately at the houses of Francis Toms and Ann Wilson. At monthly meetings, people were appointed as representatives to attend quarterly and yearly meetings. The structure of the Society of Friends in North Carolina had been established, and it would not significantly change for almost a half a century.

Chapter II

Friends and Politics, 1698–1708

During the decade between 1698 and 1708, Friends in the Albemarle region played an important role in the history of the colony. They were the leaders of the party opposed to the establishment of the Anglican church in North Carolina, and other dissenters depended on Quaker votes in the Assembly. Once the Assembly had established the church, the Friends began to build meetinghouses of their own. The two sides polarized the colony and brought about bloodshed.

Governor Archdale left Thomas Harvey in power as deputy governor in Albemarle when he returned to England. Many historians believe Governor Harvey was a Friend. Harvey had married Johannah Jenkins, the widow of Governor Jenkins, who had entertained George Fox in 1672. The governor of Virginia refused to communicate with Harvey because he affirmed rather than taking the oath when he assumed his duties as deputy governor. Thomas Story, a Friends minister, brought Harvey some papers from London when he visited in 1698. Last, there are no recorded sufferings by Friends during Harvey's tenure as governor.¹

Many settlers in Carolina sought the establishment of the Church of England, and they felt that the presence of Quakers in government diminished their hopes. They claimed that the Quakers had control of the government, which precluded the passage of an act to collect taxes for the support of the church. The Anglican priests declined to function in the colony because they had no means of sustaining themselves.²

In the summer of 1699, Governor Harvey died, and the Church party took control of the government. Henderson Walker, a zealous churchman, became acting governor as president of the council. As governor, Walker could appoint vacancies to the council. Within five months, one of the two Friends on the council, Daniel Akehurst, died. Governor Walker appointed William Glover to fill the vacancy; for the first time, the Church party had control of the six-member governor's council.³

Governor Walker wanted to bring missionaries to the colony to enhance Anglican sentiment, but his initial efforts were disastrous. In 1700 an Anglican organization named “the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge” sent Daniel Brett to North Carolina as its first missionary. Brett brought the first library to the colony, and many of the churchmen had high hopes that the new Assembly might provide permanently for a priest. The church party soon recognized that Brett was not the help they sought. Governor Walker wrote:

He for about half a year behaved himself in a modest manner, but after that, in a most horrid manner, broke out in such an extravagant course that I am most ashamed to express his carriage, it being in so high a nature. It hath been a great trouble and grief to us who have a great veneration for the church, that the first minister who was sent to us should prove so ill as to give the dissenters so much occasion to charge us with him.⁴

Undaunted by the fall of Brett, Governor Walker called a new Assembly in 1701 to establish the church. The Church party was able to pass the Vestry Act of 1701 “by one or two votes.” The act formally established the Anglican church in North Carolina. It called for the appointment of a board of vestrymen for each parish; the board would be responsible for appointing collectors to visit all residents to collect tithes. The collectors could forcibly remove property through distraint if a settler would not volunteer a tithe. The vestry would then use the money to build a building and hire a priest at a salary of thirty pounds.⁵ After his success in the Assembly, Governor Walker immediately took action to enforce the law. In the fall of 1701, he and several leading churchmen in Chowan precinct met and officially organized the parish. John Porter was appointed to build the church building, and Francis Wells was appointed to collect tithes. Some churchmen in Perquimans precinct also organized their parish and sent the collector to visit the leading Friends.⁶

The threat by the churchmen caused the Friends to tighten their discipline. In 1700, they expelled a member for the first time and ordered a paper to be “Read for the advertisement of william bush Conserving his seperation from Frinds.” The quarterly meeting took control of the supervision of local meetings for worship and established another new meeting. The Friends also made their marriage requirements more stringent. When James Newby came to Pasquotank Monthly Meeting and announced his intention of marrying Sarah Nicholson, they required him to go back to Perquimans Monthly Meeting (where he lived) and get a certificate stating that he was a member in good standing before they would allow the marriage.⁷

Three events in 1702 illustrate the effect of the Walker administration on the Society of Friends. When Augustine Scarborough, an important Friend, was appointed to a local office he had to sign his name to an oath. Pasquotank Monthly Meeting sent a committee to show him the inconsistency of his actions with the command of Christ (Matthew 5:32) and the practice of Friends. He appeared at a later monthly meeting session and publicly admitted his wrongdoing. Three months later, Francis Wells became a Friend. Wells was the first tithe collector for Chowan precinct, and as a Friend he could no longer take property from dissenters. Wells moved to Perquimans precinct, where the local collector soon visited him and took some of his property for a tithe. Third, the Friends established a meeting for worship in the Yeopim settlement in Perquimans precinct. These residents had to travel a great distance to meeting, and the tithe collectors found them easy targets when they were gone. The new meeting would be held in the house of John Barrow, who recorded the greatest sufferings of Friends in Perquimans precinct.⁸

Sufferings of Friends in Perquimans MM, 1702–1703

(pounds, shillings, pence)

John Barrow	£ 0.17.00
Francis Toms	£ 0.16.08
Gabriel Newby	£ 0.06.08
Francis Wells	£ 0.04.00
George Fordy	£ 0.04.00
Joseph Pearce	£ 0.03.04
Samuel Nicholson	£ 0.03.04

The arrival of Thomas Chalkley in 1703 helped to unify Friends during Walker's last year in office. Chalkley was one of the most important Friends ministers of the day, and he was instrumental in urging Friends in Albemarle to build meetinghouses instead of continuing to meet in homes. Soon after his arrival, another important minister came to Carolina, George Keith. He was a former Friend who was now an Anglican priest trying to re-convert Quakers. Keith preached a sermon in Currituck precinct while on his travel throughout the colonies. He tried to travel to Pasquotank County in a canoe to convert the Friends there, but strong winds prevented his journey; he returned to Virginia. If he had arrived, he probably would have been successful in cracking the unity of the Friends.⁹

When Governor Walker called another Assembly in 1703, the Friends hoped they could repeal the Vestry Act by electing a majority in the House of

Commons. During the election of members of the Assembly, the Friends received the support of other dissenters who opposed the act. The Quaker ticket won all ten seats in Pasquotank and Perquimans counties, which was almost a majority of the twenty-two member Assembly. Governor Walker feared that the Quaker party had won a majority, and he wrote the Bishop of London “if your lordship, out of your good and pious care for us, doth not put a stop to [the Quaker’s] growth, we shall the most part . . . become heathens.”¹⁰

The ten Quakers elected to the 1703 Assembly did not repeal the 1701 Vestry Act, however. The Lords Proprietors themselves declared the act null and void because it did not provide enough support for priests. Their decision came at a bad time, because an Anglican missionary, John Blair, was then traveling in the Albemarle region to review the spiritual situation for the “Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.” Blair became discouraged soon after his arrival. The roads were terrible, and a Quaker ferry owner refused to transport him across the Perquimans River at any price. He reported to the Anglican leaders in England that there were four types of people in the colony: 1) the Quakers, who were “the most powerful enemies to Church government;” 2) those people who would be Friends themselves if it did not require such a strict lifestyle; 3) unorganized Presbyterians; and 4) “Churchmen.”¹¹

Although the Anglicans were discouraged when Blair returned to England in the spring of 1704, they soon found reason for hope. Deputy Governor Walker died at the young age of 44, and colonial Governor Johnson (living in Charleston) appointed Robert Daniel as his replacement. Daniel was a renowned Indian fighter and an advocate of the established church. If any Quaker found these traits insufficiently bad, Daniel made the situation worse, because he left his wife in Charleston and began to live with another woman in Albemarle. Leading Friends reproved him for this misconduct. Nineteen Anglicans in the colony urged the new governor to ban the Friends from holding public office, so Daniel required all officeholders to take an oath of allegiance to Queen Anne. All the Quakers in the Assembly and Francis Toms (the lone remaining Friend on the governor’s council) resigned in protest rather than take the oath, and Daniel ordered new elections for their seats in the Assembly. All ten Quaker assemblymen were re-elected to their old seats, and Daniel offered the oath to them again. When they refused to take the oath the second time, Daniel ordered new elections; once again the same ten Friends were elected. Finally, the Quakers sent a petition to

Governor Johnson in Charleston; he and the proprietors decided to replace Daniel with Thomas Cary, the stepson of John Archdale.¹²

After losing their political positions, the Quakers in North Carolina turned their attention to some important religious concerns. A copy of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting Discipline of 1704 arrived in the colony in time for North Carolina Yearly Meeting to adopt it during their 1704 sessions. This Discipline represented a dramatic break with previous practice of Friends. In the future, new quarterly or yearly meetings would be created through the division of existing ones (all the quarterly and yearly meetings at that time had been organized locally without any authority). Further, the Discipline granted monthly meetings wide powers to enforce “Gospell Order” by revoking membership. It listed twenty-four reasons for disowning members and outlined other testimonies as well as procedures for marriages and burials. Its authors sought to promote “such Decency and Sobriety as becomes a People fearing God.”¹³

The adoption of the 1704 Discipline occurred at the same time as the Friends were building meetinghouses in Pasquotank and Perquimans counties. Both monthly meetings had ordered meetinghouses in 1703, and by 1704 each county contained one: Symons Creek in Pasquotank and Upper (later called Wells) in Perquimans. Within two years, two other meetinghouses were completed: Lower (later called Old Neck or Perquimans) in Perquimans and Newbegun Creek in Pasquotank. The new meetinghouses allowed greater participation in worship and decision-making and helped to draw Friends together by establishing more common places for worship.¹⁴

Pasquotank Meeting used its new powers in two cases during 1704. When two Friends had a serious disagreement (called a “difference”), the monthly meeting and the two members appointed a committee, which resolved the problem. Later, the monthly meeting removed the meeting for worship from the house of Stephen Scott due to “Some Disorder” in him. It ordered Scott to bring in a paper of condemnation of his outgoings, which it later posted on the door of the county courthouse. Since he was one of the leaders of the Friends, the meeting felt it was necessary for all citizens of the county to know that the meeting did not sanction his misconduct.¹⁵

The Quakers had high hopes in 1705. The new governor, Thomas Cary, the stepson of Governor Archdale, would soon take office, and they hoped they could work with him. Early in the year Cary met with Emanuel Lowe, Archdale’s son-in-law, and Thomas Story, a traveling Friends minister. Cary agreed to appoint Francis Toms to the governor’s council again. The visit did

not accomplish the long-range goals of Friends because Cary refused to allow the Assembly to repeal the oath of allegiance, and Toms again lost his seat on the council. Cary also had the Assembly pass an act that stated that no candidate could promote his own candidacy. The Quakers assumed the act was intended to keep them out of power again; they felt that their work to remove Daniel from office had resulted in an even worse situation.¹⁶

Perquimans Monthly Meeting decided to send an address to Queen Anne in the fall of 1705 as a result of the actions of Governor Cary. The address gives a good indication of the state of the meeting during the first decade of the eighteenth century. First, Friends sought to continue to hold legal religious meetings in the colony. They also asked to retain their power to record their own births, deaths, and marriages in the Friends manner through the men's and women's monthly meetings. Third, Friends wanted to continue punishing their own people rather than relinquish religious authority to the common courts. After all, they noted, any person could come to monthly meeting, complain of a member, and use the Friends' arbitration system to settle their difference. It is hard to understand why Perquimans Monthly Meeting would have chosen these points to mention to the Queen unless Governor Cary had decided to take away its authority in those areas.¹⁷

The arrival of two Anglicans in the colony during the year helped to shift public opinion to the side of the Quakers. In the summer, Henry Garrard was appointed lay reader. When complaints surfaced about his immoral conduct, the vestry voted to keep him in office until his replacement should arrive. The dissenters were astonished that the complaints were not treated more seriously among the pious "church" men. The other Anglican was Charles Griffin, who moved to Albemarle from the West Indies. He was also appointed a lay reader and decided to establish a school. His public school was so successful that Friends began sending their children there. When Richard Marsden, an Anglican priest, traveled through the area in 1706, he was impressed with the work of Griffin; the Pasquotank Anglican congregation was the most orderly one in the colony. For the first time, children of all faiths would attend school together and end much of the bitterness that existed among them.¹⁸

At the beginning of 1706 moderate Anglicans who were unsatisfied with Cary's methods of controlling the Assembly decided to appeal to the proprietors. John Porter, an important Anglican and one of the original members of the Chowan vestry, decided to go to London to convince the proprietors to remove Cary from office. The quarterly meeting prepared an epistle to London Yearly Meeting of Sufferings which Porter took with him. When he

reached London, Parliament was discussing troubles in South Carolina, and the meeting for sufferings began to lobby Parliament and the proprietors.¹⁹

While Porter was in England, Perquimans Monthly Meeting decided an important case with similarities to the Brett and Gerrard incidents. When Judith Henley became pregnant without the benefit of marriage, the monthly meeting decided to proceed against her by revoking her membership (i.e., disowning her). She accused William Bogue, also a member of the meeting, of being the father of the child. After laboring with the two, the monthly meeting decided that William was guilty; it wrote a paper of denial of both William Bogue and Judith Henley, which it tacked on the door of the county courthouse. Within a year, Bogue condemned his misconduct and was reinstated as a member. Therefore, the monthly meeting had operated successfully; the guilty party acknowledged his misconduct and repented publicly. This process stood in stark contrast to the Anglican refusal to take serious steps against Brett and Gerrard.²⁰

Pasquotank Monthly Meeting made two important decisions during late 1706 with significance for the future of the yearly meeting. Friends were discussing moving the date of holding monthly meeting because so many Friends from Perquimans Monthly Meeting and monthly meetings in Virginia wanted to attend but found the scheduling prohibitive. The monthly meeting decided to move the date, and then it called for a quarterly meeting of ministers and elders to bring together the leading Friends in North Carolina to discuss important problems facing the faithful. The second major decision of Pasquotank Meeting was the establishment of the public stock. The public stock was the treasury of the meeting which would be used to support poor Friends, especially widows and orphans.²¹

In 1707 John Porter returned to Albemarle from England with permission to remove Cary from office as governor. His charge from the proprietors was interesting because he discovered that they had to disobey it (i.e., not remove Cary from office) to accomplish the objectives of the moderate Anglicans. Governor Cary was then in Charleston, and William Glover, president of the council, was acting as governor. Since the colony was in a state of calm, Porter did not present his commission to the council. Glover had the support of all factions until the arrival of two more Anglican missionaries, James Adams and William Gordon. The missionaries removed Charles Griffin (the schoolteacher) from Pasquotank to Chowan and chose an ardent Anglican to take his place as lay reader and schoolteacher. Governor Glover decided to collect tithes again (to pay the salaries of the missionaries), and the tithe collectors again descended on the Quakers. They took seven and a half

bushels of corn from Francis Toms and a cooper's axe from Samuel Nicholson; the total sufferings of all Friends for the year was £11.13.08. As the situation worsened, Porter realized it was time to present his commission to the council. The commission called for new elections, the repeal of the oath act passed during Daniel's term as governor, the election of a new governor by the council, and the repeal of Cary's election law. Cary agreed to work with the Quakers if he could return to office as governor, even though Porter's commission specifically called for his removal. Both Cary and Glover claimed to be the legitimate governor, and they decided to hold elections and allow the voters to choose between them.²²

The voters in 1708 gave Thomas Cary a strong mandate to serve as governor. The Friends in Pasquotank and Perquimans counties allowed anti-Glover Anglicans to run with them on their Cary slate; only seven of the ten candidates from those two counties were Quakers. Cary slates swept every county except Currituck, although the Chowan County returns were contested. James Adams wrote:

Our old worthy patriots who have for many years bore rule in the government with great applause, cannot without concern and indignation think of their being turned out of the council . . . because they are members of the Church of England, and that shoemakers and other mechanics should be appointed in their room, merely because they are Quaker preachers and notorious blasphemers of the Church.²³

The Assembly of 1708 secured Friends an influential position in government once again. The opening scene of the Assembly was described by one of Glover's friends in this manner:

. . .the Quakers would shew themselves singular coming to the table in the Council with their hats on, laid their hand on the book and repeating the words of the Oath, except the word swear, which they would not pronounce, but the word Declare instead thereof, and then having had their explanation of the sense and meaning in which they took it entered underneath they signed it, without kissing the book, and declaring they would allow that sense and explanation of theirs and no other.²⁴

The Assembly took up the issue of the contested delegates from Chowan County and decided to seat the Cary slate. One of these Cary delegates from Chowan, Edward Moseley, was chosen as speaker of the Assembly. The delegates proceeded to repeal Daniel's oath act. Gabriel Newby, clerk of North Carolina Yearly Meeting, was appointed to the governor's council, and Emanuel Lowe was appointed to the land office.²⁵

Although the Friends had been an integral part of Cary's election victory, they soon withdrew from politics. Glover raised an army and tried to take the

government by force; Emanuel Lowe helped Cary to defeat him. Pasquotank Monthly Meeting considered Lowe's actions in participating in the battle, and he appeared before meeting to condemn his misconduct. When a new Assembly was called in 1709, only two Friends ran for the ten seats in Pasquotank and Perquimans counties. Perhaps the Friends decided to withdraw from the Cary government because they did not want to levy taxes to support a war to keep Glover out of power. Another suggestion is that they had accomplished their goals of eliminating programs such as providing for Anglican priests, the militia, and public buildings; they were ready to withdraw from the unrest in the politics of the time. Since there was little chance that the Anglican church would be established, there was no need for Friends to hold office any longer.²⁶

After several years of a civil war in the Albemarle region, the proprietors moved to calm the situation. They appointed Edward Hyde governor in 1711, removing both Cary and Glover. Hyde turned out to be a strict Anglican who was determined to eliminate permanently the political threat of the Friends. The 1711 Assembly passed a new Vestry Act and required all assemblymen to take the oath. Friends were officially barred from public office, although they could affirm when they appeared in the public court system. The act removed the only Friend still holding an office in Carolina: Gabriel Newby, who was serving on the council.²⁷

Hyde's Assembly passed an act to require Thomas Cary to account for the public finances during his term as governor. Cary realized Hyde would soon declare him an outlaw, so he organized an army. The ensuing rebellion was called the "Quaker Rebellion" by the governor of Virginia, who believed that Emanuel Lowe and Gabriel Newby were two of its leaders. In fact, Lowe is the only Quaker known to have participated in the revolt. The rebellion failed miserably, and Virginian propaganda represented Friends as favoring violence when it suited them but not favoring it otherwise.²⁸

The attempt by the Friends to influence public policy came to a disappointing end. The Anglicans had succeeded in accomplishing all of their goals, and the Friends had failed to accomplish any of theirs. Tithe collectors sporadically harassed dissenters until the American Revolution, and the Friends were now officially barred from government service. Henceforth, Friends concentrated their efforts on bolstering their faith and helping needy members.

Chapter III

The Beginnings of Quietism, 1708–1740

The era of Quietism in Friends history opened in North Carolina in 1708. At that time Friends withdrew from the civil government and concentrated their efforts on sustaining their people in the Truth rather than trying to influence public policy. As their proactivity waned, the Friends became a passive and submissive people who had few dealings with the Assembly. Instead, the energy of Friends was directed towards promoting the purity of their members' lives. They gradually came to realize that their culture was being eroded because new members were not familiar with the purposes of their testimonies.

At the opening of the era of Quietism, North Carolina Yearly Meeting had a unique structure among yearly meetings in the world. There were two monthly meetings (Perquimans Monthly Meeting, and Little River and Pasquotank Monthly Meeting), which appointed representatives once each year to attend the yearly meeting and the three coming sessions of the quarterly meeting. (The practice of appointing representatives for the whole calendar year did not endure many years; before long all the representatives were appointed immediately before the business meeting they were being appointed to attend.) An additional meeting called the Six Weeks Meeting (or half quarterly meeting) existed from 1707 until 1710, which seems to have been appointed as a time of fellowship for Friends of the whole province without scheduled business.¹

One of the most important functions of quarterly and yearly meetings was the settling of differences between members that were too difficult for the monthly meetings. An early example of such a difference was the case of Gabriel Newby. He was an abrasive person who was the son-in-law of Francis Toms. Newby served on the governor's council, and he also held the most prestigious position in the Society of Friends, clerk of the yearly meeting. In the summer of 1708, Newby accused Ann Wilson of adultery, so she and her husband Isaac appealed to Perquimans Monthly Meeting for help in resolving the situation. The matter was too weighty for the meeting to

determine (Gabriel was the clerk of the yearly meeting, after all), so the meeting referred the case to the quarterly meeting. Although the quarterly meeting required all three people involved apologize to each other, Newby had tarnished the reputation of the yearly meeting. When yearly meeting met that fall, the representatives appointed William Everigin, a shoemaker, as the new clerk.²

Another important function of the quarterly and yearly meetings was to help the monthly meetings in difficult cases of discipline. One of the most troubling cases a monthly meeting faced during these years was the case of Jeremiah Symons Jr., which was referred to yearly meeting in 1708. Symons was the son of a Friend who had served in the Assembly, and his family was prominent in the Society of Friends (for instance, John Symons was clerk of quarterly meeting). Jeremiah was first complained of in Pasquotank Monthly Meeting for issuing a warrant for the arrest of Joseph Jordan, another Friend. Symons accused Jordan of refusing to satisfy a debt but did not seek redress through the arbitration system Friends had established. The monthly meeting referred the case to yearly meeting, which sent a committee to visit Jeremiah Symons.³

Yearly meeting was an important event in the year. During its sessions, Friends from both monthly meetings met together for two days of worship and a day of business. The most important matter was the state of the society report by the monthly meetings. These reports were actually given by the representatives (or “Respectives,” as Everigin called them). The yearly meeting also gave advices which were recorded to be read at the next sessions of quarterly and monthly meetings (in 1708 the yearly meeting advised that Friends keep to their seats during business sessions and not run in and out). Last, the yearly meeting received and read epistles from London Yearly Meeting, which kept them informed of activities of Friends elsewhere.⁴

During the yearly meeting of 1708, Friends added a new layer to their structure. Due to the large number of people attending the sessions, it was difficult to reach important decisions. The yearly meeting decided to appoint a group of twelve men who would gather during the yearly meeting to make the important decisions (this body operated much like the Representative Body today). At the beginning of each yearly meeting, members were added or removed from this body. It was last mentioned in 1711.⁵

About 1710 Friends adopted a series of Queries to be read and answered at quarterly meetings. Each of the seven yearly meetings (London, Rhode

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Island, New York, Philadelphia, Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina) prepared Queries to be answered and forwarded to the yearly meeting. Although the text of the North Carolina Yearly Meeting Queries is not known, the answers suggest the following:

1. Are all Friends careful to keep to their particular meetings, week days, First days, and monthly meetings for discipline?
2. Are children trained up suitable to our profession and to the honor of Truth?
3. Do Friends keep to plainness of speech and apparel?
4. Are Friends' marriages and burials conducted with plainness, without food and drink?
5. Are the needs of poor Friends, orphans, and widows relieved when known?
6. Do Friends keep to their testimony against the hireling ministry, and are Friends careful not to pay tithes or taxes for repairing church houses?⁶

Sometimes John Symons, clerk of quarterly meeting, would record in detail the answers to the Queries. The following meeting is interesting enough to be quoted in full:

1716 ye 29th day of ye 10th Month. At a quarterly Meeting at Little River. Friends being met as at other times in good order first for worship and then for discipline; and then the Queries being read and answered pretty well unto them; asking, "Who brings in the several accounts from your Monthly Meetings concerning the state thereof to this above said Quarterly Meeting?"

Answer thus, "For Perquimans Francis Toms [Jr.] and William More; for Pasquotank and Little River William Hoge and John White."

First, how are your particular, week days, First Days, and Monthly Meetings kept?" Who answers thus, "We think at present well."

Then concerning training up children suitable to our profession and to the honor of Truth, who answers thus, "We think indifferent well at present."

Then how do Friends keep to plainness of speech, which could not [be] very well nor clearly answered to then.

How say you concerning superfluity of meat, drink, and apparel? For Pasquotank and Little River, "We think well at present," and for Perquimans "We think it is not altogether so well as we desire it might or should be, but we hope it may be better at our next quarterly meeting."⁷

An appointment which has been historically tied to the Queries is that of the overseer. In North Carolina, the quarterly meeting created the office of overseer in 1707 when it appointed overseers for each monthly meeting to work with members in need. Afterward, overseers were appointed by the monthly meetings. The overseers were appointed to exercise a vigilant and

tender care over their fellow members and make provision for helping members who needed physical assistance of some kind. The first item of business at monthly meeting throughout the remainder of the eighteenth century was the report of the overseers, which would often set the agenda. Often, the overseers would report on a visit to a member whose actions gave them grounds for concern, and the meeting would investigate ways of restoring unity.⁸

During the early years of the eighteenth century, the meeting would often invest quite a lot of energy in trying to resolve problems that arose. These attempts to restore the unity between members were not always successful. One of the most frustrating cases ever faced by Pasquotank Monthly Meeting was the case of Jeremiah Symons Jr. As mentioned earlier, the yearly meeting appointed a committee to visit him in regard to his misbehavior in issuing a warrant for Joseph Jordan. He refused to acknowledge his error, so the monthly meeting decided to disown him. Another member then intervened and asked for leave to visit Jeremiah once again, and the monthly meeting decided to hold the paper of denial which would officially disown him. This Friend was unsuccessful in convincing Jeremiah to repent, so the monthly meeting decided to issue the paper. Jeremiah then had a change of heart and appeared before the monthly meeting to condemn his misconduct (Friends condemned misconduct, not people). His appearance satisfied the meeting, and the case was dropped. Within six months, Jeremiah was under care again, and William Everigin offered him “a Barrel of pork not to Disturbe the Meeting any More.” Jeremiah stood accused of cursing and swearing at the county court, and he was finally disowned in 1711.⁹

There were other means of disciplining members. In 1710 Perquimans Monthly Meeting replaced one of its quarterly meeting representatives due to his misconduct. In 1711, North Carolina Yearly Meeting removed Emanuel Lowe from its governing body because he helped to support an armed rebellion against the government of the colony. Lowe condemned his misconduct before his monthly meeting; he could no longer participate in yearly meeting decisions but remained a member of Pasquotank Monthly Meeting.¹⁰

The purpose of disowning members was to encourage them to change their ways, not to shun them forever. Only those members who refused to cooperate in any way with the monthly meeting lost their membership; in several cases, a member changed his or her mind at the last minute and the monthly meeting decided against disownment (even if the paper of denial had been written already). The following is one of the earliest papers of denial recorded:

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Whereas A. B. has had his Education among the People called Quakers, but has for some Time past been remiss & negligent of attending our Religious Meetings, which for the most part betokens a Declension of Godly Fear & watchfull Dependence On his Light & Grace which is Sufficient to Discover & preserve from Sin & Folly; and as his Friends & Father observ'd the sd. slackness & neglect and heard he was keeping Company in order for Marriage wh. a Woman not of our profession, Thay Earnestly advised him to desist therein, and Endeavour'd to Lay before him, and make him Sensible of the many Evils & Inconveniences both Temporal & spiritual which for the most part or ever attends unequal Marriages in point of Faith & worship But notwithstanding The Cautions & advice given, He has lately married, contrary to the Good & Christian Order used amongst us; not regarding The counsel of his Parent nor the Divine Command which says Honour thy Father &c. Therefore we can [do] no less than Disown the said A. B. to be one of Our Society, unless thro' unfeigned Repentance he come to have a Sence, & to acknowledge his Outgoings, which that he may is our Sincere Desire for him.¹¹

A member could be reinstated by presenting a paper of condemnation of former conduct. The following paper was written in 1711.

To the Monthly meeting of friends at Pequimens the 1st day of ye 6th mot. 1711.

This may Certifie you that whareas I have Contrary to the Blessed truth which I make Profession of went out and tooke a husband one that maid Little or noe Profession of the truth which Brought Great trouble and sorrow of regrit upon me for these many months for which I am hartily Sorre and doe from my heart Condemn this my hardness both to the Light and Spirit of truth in my heart and allsoe the Good admonition of my friends and desier that this my feeling may be a warning to others and hope for the time to Come to doe So no more and I doe desier to be in unity with friends as witness my hand.¹²

The attempts by the meetings to foster healthy relationships between the members served the Quakers well when their temporal circumstances became less favorable. In 1711 North Carolina colonists were attacked by Tuscarora Indians, and the Friends testimony against war was severely tried. Governor Hyde tried to force Friends to fight, but only one in the whole province (Ephraim Overman) agreed to help in the effort. An Anglican missionary wrote home that Friends “never care to fight except to be against the Church and Crown.” The Assembly passed a fine of five pounds for conscientious objectors, which Friends refused to pay; Hyde could not even find enough people to collect the fines.¹³

The war progressed poorly for the colony, and the Friends steadfastly refused to accommodate the authorities. When Governor Hyde asked for help from Virginia, Governor Spotswood asked for border concessions. As

the Indian attacks became more violent, Hyde appealed to South Carolina, which sent its militia. North Carolina Yearly Meeting of 1712 sent a committee to attend the Assembly to present the opinion of Friends on the war, but the message fell on deaf ears. In 1713, Pasquotank Monthly Meeting asked members to keep accounts of their sufferings “Either for not bearing arms or Refusing to pay Parish levies.” The quarterly meeting also advised Friends against paying the fines:

... [F]riends ... did in time Caution one another to be carefull and not break the comand of christ in obeying of this afouresaid law ... nevertheles some have gon contrary to ye comand of christ and ye advice of their friends ... and soe dishonored their head, themselves, their profesion besids, bringing a burthen upon others of ye same profesion in complying with ye said law; now some seeing & knowing this to be done doe advise yt these be dealt with in true love to make them sencible of it: in their power of the wrong they have done themselves and ye Church they doe belong too & for them to give yt satisfaction As such an offence Justly requiers yt ye reproach may be removed and they received into unity.¹⁴

The South Carolina militia was finally able to defeat the Indians. In the meantime, the Friends had to lay down their isolated meeting at Yeopim, which was the farthest away from their main settlements. Edmund Chancy was the only member who paid the fine, and he later condemned his conduct.¹⁵

After the war ended, the Assembly passed two important acts regarding Friends. The first act was titled “An act for Liberty of Conscience and that the Solemn Affirmation of the people called Quakers shall be accepted.” The act provided that Friends could say “I, A.B., do declare in the presence of God, the witness of the truth of what I say,” instead of swearing. It also stated that Friends could not “give evidence in any criminal cases, serve on any Jury, or bear any office or place of profit or trust in the government.” The act allowed any form of public Protestant worship “without molestation.” The other act was the Militia Act of 1715. This act required the captains of the militia to make lists of all capable men; any men not appearing at the muster would be fined five pounds.¹⁶

As the war ended and the levying of fines began once more, Friends turned their attention to education of their children in order to preserve their culture. The quarterly meeting encouraged Friends to “be carfull in scolieng their Childring,” and advised the monthly meetings to provide education for the children of poor Friends. The yearly meeting also advised Friends to be careful to school their children.¹⁷

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Another concern for Friends was bringing the women's organization to the same level as the men's. The first women's business meeting to be established in NCYM was Perquimans Monthly Meeting, which was already sitting by 1705. Pasquotank Monthly Meeting established its women's meeting by 1711, when the women asked for help in their first disownment. Pasquotank Monthly Meeting of women Friends then announced the gathering of the first women's quarterly meeting, which met on 10–31–1715. Although the fall session of the women's quarterly meeting sat as the women's yearly meeting initially, it eventually reverted to another quarterly meeting.¹⁸

The importance of the women's structure cannot be overemphasized. Women played no role whatsoever in most other religions. When women Friends met with men in joint sessions, the women were not very active in the business. They appear very infrequently in the early minutes of the meetings of ministers and elders, where they composed about half of the people gathered. In one monthly meeting in North Carolina that met in joint session from 1736 until 1784, no women overseers were appointed until 1782. Establishing separate business meetings for women ensured their participation during an era in which the outer culture discouraged them from taking part in such decisions. The separate meetings of men and women had to agree upon important items of business before they could proceed.¹⁹

The women's meetings initially had problems and had to ask for help from the men in running their meetings. In 1708 the Perquimans Monthly Meeting (men's) sent a letter to their women's monthly meeting urging them to find unity and stop spreading rumors about other members. In 1714 the men appointed a committee to find out why only two women appeared for their monthly meeting. Once the women recognized the order used among Friends, they quickly began to enforce the Discipline. In 1715 three young women married out of the unity of Friends and were disowned. The women Friends even disowned two mothers for giving improper advice to their daughters (by allowing them to marry out of unity). One woman was disowned for paying the vestry tax in 1717, and another was disowned in 1725 for "uncivil carriage towards the tithe gatherer."²⁰

The establishment of women's meetings was an early part of a wave of expansion and consolidation during John Symons' term as clerk of the yearly meeting. Among the concerns facing Friends at the time were establishing new meetings for the growing membership, the recording of advices, and elaborating on the marriage guidelines.²¹

Five new meetings for worship were organized during Symons' term as

clerk. The first of these new meetings was organized in 1716 at Little River. It had been one of the earliest meetings in Albemarle, meeting at Henry Prows' and later Henry White's home. When Pasquotank Monthly Meeting began to build meetinghouses, it laid down the meeting at Little River. After ten years, the members again asked for liberty to hold meetings. The monthly meeting decided to seek advice from quarterly meeting, which reopened a meeting at Little River. Within a year, a meetinghouse was completed and quarterly meeting was held there again. The other new meetings were formed in Perquimans Monthly Meeting. Of these, the first three did not last long; they were held at the houses of Timothy Clare, Samuel Nicholson, and Peter Jones. The fourth meeting was Piney Woods. James Griffin, Moses Hill, and William Hill asked for leave to hold a meeting in the northern part of Perquimans County in 1724, which was granted. Although this meeting was weak at first, it became one of the largest in the quarterly meeting by the time of the American Revolution.²²

North Carolina Friends placed a great deal of emphasis on advices given by their business meetings. The 1721 yearly meeting elaborated on a previous advice by Perquimans Monthly Meeting that Friends should "waight to feel the season of God to fitt and Prepare their minds" before speaking in worship; it recommended "that they may Remember when there gathered that their Earnest desier may be to feel Refreshment or know the inspeakings of ye Lord Jesus to comfort their Spirits." Pasquotank Monthly Meeting amended a previous decision by Perquimans that had not accomplished its object; Perquimans ruled in 1708 that Friends "Shall Receive noe Accusation one Against Another without prooffe Except they visit Each other in Love." Pasquotank found that it was rare for the offending Friend to acknowledge wrongdoing. Even when the parties brought the case to the monthly meeting, there was no provision to require the offending Friend to obey the decision of the monthly meeting. To solve the problem, Pasquotank Monthly Meeting announced in 1717 when a difficult arbitration case appeared that:

if Either of the sd. parties Refuse to Stand to the Judgment of friends, the other may have the Liberty to take Legal means for the Recovery of his Right, & friends Disowns the party refusing.²³

Friends took the advices seriously. When the quarterly meeting advised the meetings and overseers to "use Dilligence by way of brotherly Admonition to Stirr up any whom they may be apprehensive of being in a Declining Condition," Perquimans Monthly Meeting responded by sending a committee of men and women Friends to visit all the members of the monthly meeting to exhort them to "walk ancerable to truth." Pasquotank's overseers

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brought the cases of two poor widows to the meeting in 1720, and collected five pounds for each one. They also entreated Friends to attend meetings regularly, “for in such Neglect our Ancient Godly practice will fail, the thought of which makes the hearts of the well Inclined very humble.”²⁴

Some of the advices were simply restatements of the circumstances in which Friends found themselves. After the acts of the Assembly had marginalized Friends, the quarterly meeting advised (1718) that:

All frinds doe walke as becomes truth and as the advice of our Ancient friends has binn with the derection of the holy scriptures which was that Isaral dwell alone that is not mixing themselves with other people that is in mariag or feasting or fassioning themselves with unnasary dreses or speaches.²⁵

Not all of the advices grew out of sessions of the yearly or quarterly meetings. Perquimans Monthly Meeting was considering the state of disowned members when it issued an interesting advice in 1722 that Friends not “be so soseiable with them as before.” Other advices advised against the use of the plural language, superfluity of dress, the excessive use of alcohol, and the use of tobacco for non-medical purposes.²⁶

No subject received as much attention in the advices as that of marriage regulations; almost every aspect of these rules was treated during these years. In 1720, Perquimans Monthly meeting required that both partners thenceforth appear before the monthly meeting when they announced their intentions of marriage. Pasquotank Monthly Meeting advised Friends not to attend weddings conducted before a priest. When Isaac Wilson complained of the “Wildness at friends maridges,” Perquimans Monthly Meeting decided to appoint a committee to attend future marriages to see that good order was maintained, and the practice of appointing a marriage committee became standard. The yearly meeting of 1717 advised that all marriages take place in the meetinghouse, “alwais without aney superfluity.”²⁷

While North Carolina Friends were considering advices and superfluities, an interesting possibility arose that they might have an opportunity to exercise some political power again. In 1720, the proprietors realized that the colony was not going to be as profitable as they had hoped, and they entered negotiations with three British Friends, John Falconer, David Barclay, and Thomas Hyam, to sell it. Just before the final agreement was signed, the London economic markets crashed when the speculators in the South Sea Bubble were discovered. The agreement was not approved.²⁸

Thomas Jessop became clerk of the yearly meeting in 1724 when John Symons decided to relinquish it after his second marriage. During Jessop’s

term as clerk, a new meeting was established at the house of Gabriel Newby (1725), which meant that Friends did not have to cross the Perquimans River to attend meeting. By the end of the year, the monthly meeting was held at Newby's house every other month instead of at Wells meetinghouse. Two orphans were also taken under the care of members of Perquimans Monthly Meeting, and provision was made for their education. Pasquotank Monthly Meeting decided to enlarge the meetinghouse at Symons Creek in 1726 to facilitate the separate men's and women's monthly meetings. In 1727 Perquimans Monthly Meeting appointed a committee composed of Thomas Jessop, Thomas Pearce, and Robert Wilson to "View The old Book that belongs to this Meeting . . . and Transcribe what is material out of it into a new Book &c." The charge of the committee was unfortunate; it decided to copy the marriage certificates and only short excerpts from the minutes. In most cases, the minutes were not in any order in the new book.²⁹

One other important development materialized during the term of Jessop. In 1725 Benjamin Pritchard, the clerk of Pasquotank Monthly Meeting, decided that he would issue one advice at each monthly meeting. His advices concerned care in dealing with disowned members, not settling differences through the public courts, maintaining integrity in business, not paying tithes, maintaining Friends' awareness in meetings for worship, and diligence in attending meetings for discipline. When Edward Mayo became clerk of the monthly meeting in 1726, he continued the advices for a few months. Mayo's topics were guarding against drowsiness in meetings and abstaining from excesses in drink, apparel, and tobacco.³⁰

Robert Wilson's term as clerk (1730–1740) began as a continuation of the efforts by Friends during the past two decades to preserve good order among Friends. In 1731 the yearly meeting was expanded to three days due to the increase of business that it considered. It also ruled that traveling ministers should carry a certificate of unity from their monthly meetings. The quarterly meeting decided in 1730 that members who refused to abide by the decisions of meeting arbitration should be disowned. The next year a member of Perquimans Monthly Meeting appealed his disownment to the quarterly meeting. Although his appeal was unsuccessful, he set a precedent that the quarterly meeting would entertain appeals.³¹

By 1732 some Friends from Newport, Rhode Island, had started a settlement on the Newport River in Carteret County, North Carolina. They organized a meeting for worship in 1733 in the house of William Borden, and later added a meeting in the house of Henry Stanton. Stanton and Nicholas Bryant attended Pasquotank Monthly Meeting in 1736, where they received

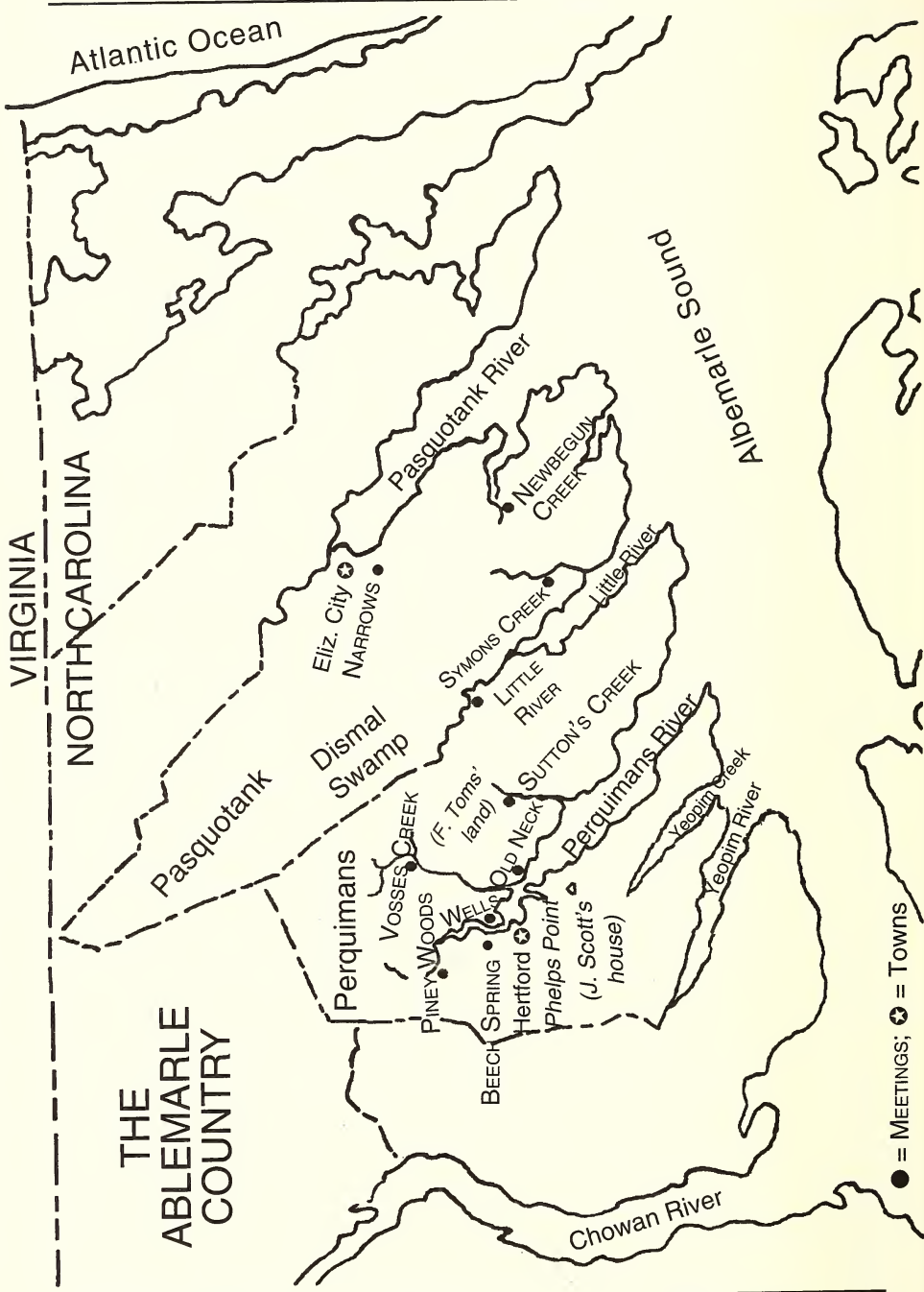
The Beginnings of Quietism, 1708–1740

permission to open a new monthly meeting, to be called Core Sound Monthly Meeting. At its first session, Friends established a preparative meeting at the house of Henry Stanton to consider the minor business matters and lessen the load of business at monthly meetings. This was the first preparative meeting in North Carolina Yearly Meeting. The two meetings for worship were laid down in 1737 when the meetinghouse was finished. For the first time, the Friends had expanded from their original settlements in the Albemarle counties.³²

A small incident in 1737 developed into an unfortunate situation for the Friends. When quarterly meeting met at Little River, Captain David Bayly of the local militia placed a note on the meetinghouse door calling local Friends to the musterfield. The quarterly meeting advised Friends not to obey the note. When the Assembly met the next year, it passed a new Militia Act to exempt Friends from the militia if they would hire a substitute. The act also levied taxes for the creation of a powder magazine in each county, since the Assembly feared a Spanish invasion. (King George's War was then raging.) Perquimans Monthly Meeting decided that no Friend should "goe to musters without rendering Sofisant reasons for their Going." Friends refused to participate in the war preparations of the Assembly.³³

Two interesting disciplinary cases were decided in 1737. The first occurred in Pasquotank Monthly Meeting. Daniel Chancey was disowned in 1734 for cursing and criticizing Friends. He moved to Opeckan, Virginia, in 1737, where he forged a certificate to transfer his membership there from Pasquotank Monthly Meeting. When news of the event reached Pasquotank, the monthly meeting decided to write a letter to the Virginia Friends to clarify the matter. The other case concerned Thomas Nicholson, who stated at quarterly meeting that the policy of disowning members was not advisable and potentially destructive. Several weighty Friends visited him during the next year, and he brought a paper to quarterly meeting in 1738 to condemn his statements. Thus, an early opponent of the rigorous discipline was quickly silenced.³⁴

As the term of Robert Wilson came to a close, the structure of the yearly meeting was slightly altered. In 1739 the quarterly meeting decided to hold its meetings four times each year. At the fall session of quarterly meeting, the representatives at quarterly meeting rather than the monthly meetings would appoint representatives to the yearly meeting. In 1739 Pasquotank Monthly Meeting decided that its monthly meeting sessions would be select (*i.e.*, only members could attend). The next year, Perquimans made its monthly meetings select. Pasquotank Monthly Meeting, wanting to reduce the growing



The Beginnings of Quietism, 1708–1740

number of business items under consideration, established a preparative meeting in 1740 to decide what matters were worth “troubling the monthly meeting with.” Henceforth, all disciplinary cases would be handled by the preparative meeting unless it could not reach a decision. In making these changes, North Carolina Friends were affirming changes that were taking place elsewhere in the Quaker world. The next two decades would give more evidence of the influence of the wider Quaker world upon North Carolina Friends.³⁵

Chapter IV

Joseph Robinson, Clerk, 1741–1760

When Joseph Robinson was appointed clerk of the yearly meeting in 1741, North Carolina Friends were settled in three counties, with a monthly meeting in each county. During his term as clerk, a wave of immigration brought hundreds of northern Friends into the backcountry of North Carolina. This influx of people eventually led to the establishment of Friends meetings throughout central North Carolina, which drastically changed the character of the yearly meeting by 1760.

There was a growing awareness of a need to remove the perceived deficiencies in the yearly meeting when the yearly meeting selected Joseph Robinson to serve as clerk. The number of disciplinary cases was rising quickly. In the five previous years, there were twenty-one disciplinary cases in the yearly meeting; twelve of these members were disowned. There was a large group of Friends who wanted to solidify the Society by removing those members who chose not to follow the strict Quaker lifestyle. Joseph Robinson was one of them. Pasquotank Monthly Meeting had disowned five members in the five previous years, and these papers of denial were written by their clerk, Joseph Robinson.¹

The tremendous expansion of Friends into North Carolina Yearly Meeting began early in Robinson's term as clerk. In 1743 Friends on Carvers Creek on the Cape Fear River asked the quarterly meeting for permission to hold a monthly meeting amongst themselves. Since the quarterly meeting did not know any Friends were living in those parts of the colony, it asked for "an Account of their Certificates" from their home monthly meetings and a "recommendation of Such as have been Convinced Amongst them." Although the quarterly meeting did not create a monthly meeting at Carvers Creek, Friends there were already holding one by 1744. The yearly meeting sent a committee there which reported in 1746 that Friends were now settled on Dunns Creek in Bladen County and wanted a monthly meeting of their own. The committee reported that Dunns Creek Friends were divided over the preaching of a disowned Friend, John Crews, so the yearly meeting ruled

that the monthly meeting could circulate between Carvers Creek and Dunns Creek if the Dunns Creek Friends would not allow Crews to participate in the business sessions. The next year, the yearly meeting once again ordered Dunns Creek Meeting to discourage Crews from participating in their meeting.²

Other Friends were moving into the coastal plains north of Carvers Creek. Some Friends living on Falling Creek in Johnston County began to hold meetings in the house of John Wallis. In 1748, they applied for a monthly meeting. Their request was granted by the yearly meeting.³

The older meetings in North Carolina were experiencing some growth as well. Friends at Symons Creek had to enlarge their meetinghouse in 1742 to handle the increase in attendance. A new meetinghouse was completed at Piney Woods the same year in Perquimans County, and the meeting at the Newby home was laid down and attached to it. In 1745 Friends received permission from Symons Creek Monthly Meeting to hold meetings at the house of Amos Trueblood near the narrows of the Pasquotank River. This meeting became large over time and was known both as Trueblood's and Narrows. In 1751 Perquimans Monthly Meeting opened a meeting at Yeopim once again at the home of Joseph Barrow (the last one was laid down during the Tuscarora War in 1712). Friends were also holding meetings at Caleb Elliot's house about this time in the northern reaches of Perquimans County.⁴

North Carolina Yearly Meeting considered more requests for the expansion of the structure of the Society of Friends in 1750. The report of Carvers Creek Monthly Meeting must have surprised the yearly meeting. Dunns Creek Friends once again requested a monthly meeting, which the yearly meeting declined to grant. The Carvers Creek report also asked the yearly meeting to create a monthly meeting in the remote interior of the colony on Cane Creek. More than likely, the eastern Quakers did not take this request seriously. There were already three small monthly meetings (Core Sound, Carvers Creek, and Falling Creek) which generally failed to send reports to quarterly and yearly meetings, and the well-established eastern meetings resented this failure. The yearly meeting frequently sent epistles urging these three monthly meetings to participate. The yearly meeting therefore decided to write an epistle to the Friends settled on Cane Creek "letting them know we are Willing to be better Informed in their Situation."⁵

The eastern Friends had no way of knowing the extent of the influx of Friends into the Carolina back country. In the early 1740s, wave after wave of settlers moved south through the Shenandoah Valley in Virginia into the

uncharted extremes of piedmont North Carolina. These settlers were so separated from the earlier settlements that the county lines actually did not reach westward to their homes; the Assembly created several new counties to serve the influx of new settlers: Anson in 1750, Orange in 1751, and Rowan in 1752. Scores of new settlers were convinced by the Friends with whom they traveled, and scores of Friends drifted away as they settled in areas with few other Friends.⁶

In 1751 Carvers Creek Monthly Meeting decided to ask the quarterly meeting to grant a monthly meeting at Cane Creek. It appointed Abigail Pike and Rachel Wright as the quarterly meeting representatives. Several Friends at Cane Creek made the long journey to quarterly meeting, which was held 220 miles from their homes. Joseph Ratcliff, clerk of quarterly meeting, recorded:

Our Friends Rachel Wright & Abigail Pike from Cane Creek on Cape Fear, Produced Certificates to this Meeting, from the Monthly Meeting at Carvers Creek. . . . Also Friends on Cane Creek wrote to our Quarterly Meeting Desiring a Monthly Meeting to be Settled amongst them which was Refer'd to this Meeting, & Several Friends from them Parts appeared at this Meeting & acquainted Friends that there is Thirty Families and upwards of Friends Settled in them Parts & Desire in behalf of themselves & their Friends to have a Monthly Meeting Settled amongst them, which Request upon mature Consideration Friends think Proper to grant.⁷

The day after quarterly meeting, the Cane Creek Friends attended the quarterly meeting of ministers and elders. Minutes of the meeting of ministers and elders (also called the select meeting) are extant from 1745, and at this time the meeting was chiefly concerned with nurturing the ministry in the yearly meeting. Recommendations for the recording of a member to these positions (minister or elder) coming from the monthly meetings were considered by the select meeting before the recording took place. At this particular session, Abigail Pike was recorded as a minister at Cane Creek Meeting.⁸

The Cane Creek Friends probably remained in Perquimans County for a month to attend yearly meeting, where Carvers Creek Monthly Meeting referred two important decisions. First, the monthly meeting had received a paper of condemnation from one of the supporters of John Crews, in which the member recognized his fault in defending Crews' decision not to repay debts he incurred in Pennsylvania. Carvers Creek Monthly Meeting was divided over whether or not to accept his paper. The yearly meeting decided that the monthly meeting should hold the paper longer until all were satisfied with the member's conduct. Second, the monthly meeting recommended a

division of the yearly meeting: the two older monthly meetings would continue to constitute North Carolina Yearly Meeting, and Falling Creek, Carvers Creek, and Core Sound would constitute the new yearly meeting. Once again, eastern Friends did not understand the great need for monthly meetings in the backcountry, so they referred the decision to the quarterly meeting of ministers and elders, which took no action on the matter.⁹

Two months after yearly meeting, Cane Creek Friends held the first session of their monthly meeting (10–7–1751). One of the first matters discussed was the creation of a meeting for worship at the settlement of New Garden, forty miles further into the back country. Friends must have been meeting there already, because Cane Creek Monthly Meeting began to circulate between the two meetings by the end of 1751. During the next few years, new meetings were created throughout the Piedmont. These meetings eventually became Rocky River, Deep River, and Springfield (1753); Eno (1754); Centre and Pee Dee (1755); and Tysons and Mill Creek (1758). In 1754 the quarterly meeting divided Cane Creek Monthly Meeting by establishing New Garden Monthly Meeting. By this time, Cane Creek and New Garden monthly meetings each had about as many members as either Pasquotank or Perquimans monthly meetings.¹⁰

The Friends in the Carolina back country did not have a copy of the Discipline of North Carolina Yearly Meeting. Many of these Friends had been members at Hopewell Monthly Meeting in western Virginia, which was at that time a part of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. As a result, the western meetings continued to operate under the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting Discipline. They used two additional levels in their organization which had never been used in the older Friends settlements in eastern North Carolina. The lowest level in their structure was the indulged meeting. Indulged meetings tended to be small meetings that were opened on a trial basis with oversight by a monthly meeting committee. After the committee felt that the meeting had reached a degree of stability, it would recommend that the indulged meeting be established. The quarterly meeting was responsible for appointing a committee to visit meetings asking to be established. Most of the indulged meetings met in the home of a member and only built a meeting-house after being promoted to an established meeting (though exceptions exist). Furthermore, western Friends assigned more responsibility to preparative meetings. In the east, almost every major meeting for worship held a preparative meeting. In the west, however, the monthly meetings were usually divided between two preparative meetings. All the indulged and established meetings were members of one of the preparative meetings;

when the monthly meeting divided, one of the preparative meetings became a monthly meeting and took all its constituent indulged and established meetings with it.¹¹

Although most of the immigration into North Carolina Yearly Meeting took place in the western fringes of the colony, another parallel migration of Friends from Virginia brought Friends into northeastern North Carolina. Many of these Friends settled in Northampton County. In 1753, the quarterly meeting granted them a meeting for worship at Rich Square. In 1755, Friends in Chowan County also were granted a meeting for worship at the house of Charles Jordan.¹²

Unfortunately, many Friends were not reached by the creation of Cane Creek and New Garden monthly meetings in time. Several of these Friends became Anglicans and played major roles in the development of the western frontier. Some significant examples include David Jones, the first sheriff of Rowan County; Edward Hughes, the second sheriff of Rowan County, who operated a tavern on the Yadkin River; Benjamin Milner, the third sheriff of Rowan County; and James Carter, who became a prominent swindler in Rowan County politics.¹³

The falling away of members such as Jones, Hughes, Milner, and Carter was a great concern to many Friends. A group of reformers in Philadelphia Yearly Meeting was trying to increase the separation of Friends there from the rest of colonial society. They wanted to purify their yearly meeting through more rigorous enforcement of the Discipline, even if many of the marginal Friends had to be disowned. Several English Friends joined the reformers' cause and traveled extensively in the colonies; three of them traveled in North Carolina Yearly Meeting in the early 1750s: Samuel Fothergill, Mary Peisley, and Catherine Payton. The reformers felt that the Friends' culture was crumbling. One of their foremost ministers, John Churchman, wrote:

The plantation of God [is] as a field uncultivated, and a desert. Thus decay of discipline and other weakening things prevailed to the eclipsing of Zion's beauty. . . . A people who had thus bent their swords into ploughshares, and bent of their spirits to this world could not instruct their offspring in those statutes they had themselves forgotten.¹⁴

The visit of Fothergill in 1754 brought North Carolina Yearly Meeting into the camp of the reformers. In order to bring about the changes they sought, the reform element first replaced the dated Discipline of the yearly meeting. A copy of the 1719 Philadelphia Yearly Meeting Discipline was presented to the quarterly meeting in the spring of 1755, and it appointed a committee to

review it. The committee met on Sixth month 14, 1755 and suggested several alterations “Such as Naturally arise From the Different Circumstance of Each province.” The committee reported at the summer session of quarterly meeting, and the proposed Discipline was read at yearly meeting by Joseph Robinson and adopted. Joseph Ratcliff was appointed to make four copies of the forty-eight page book so each of the four monthly meetings represented at yearly meeting could have a copy (three monthly meetings were not represented at yearly meeting).¹⁵

The 1755 Discipline represented a new constitution for North Carolina Yearly Meeting. The Discipline was composed of four main parts. The first portion of the book outlined the structure of the yearly meeting. The second portion gave a brief statement of offenses which could result in a member’s disownment. The third division dealt with the arbitration system, and the fourth portion contained the marriage restrictions.¹⁶

Some of the passages that were changed from the Philadelphia Discipline warrant attention. The marriage vow was changed from “I promise through Divine assistance to be a true and loving [husband or wife] until it shall please God to separate us by death” to “I promise through Divine assistance to be a true and loving [husband or wife] until Death shall separate us.” The yearly meeting also weakened the strong stand against slavery from the Philadelphia text, and it deleted an interesting paragraph:

Further care [shall] be taken with . . . such as are given to excess of Drinking, Swearing, Cursing, Lying, Unlawful or Unseemly keeping Company with Women or any other Scandalous practices . . . [as well as] Such as accustom themselves to Smoaking Tobacco indecently & too publickly as in Streets high Roads or other publick places . . .¹⁷

One additional result of the 1755 Discipline was the creation of the women’s yearly meeting once again. There is no record of a women’s yearly meeting for many years prior to 1758.¹⁸

One of the most important concerns raised in the 1755 Discipline is that the needs of poor Friends be met by other members. In 1758 the yearly meeting asked the monthly meetings to appoint committees to visit each family of Friends. During this period, Friends built two houses for widows and raised money to help John Farmer, a Friend at Falling Creek whose house burned. They also raised twenty-five shillings to provide for the education of an orphan.¹⁹

During these years men Friends discussed whether it was appropriate to wear wigs. In 1752 the yearly meeting ruled that no Friend could wear a wig without stating his reason and obtaining permission from the monthly

meeting, and in 1755 a Friend was allowed to purchase a wig by Perquimans Monthly Meeting for the first time. By 1759 several young men had begun to wear wigs without monthly meeting approval; the new Discipline did not forbid wigs. The monthly meeting decided to appoint a committee to “Discourse [the young men] & Report to next Mo. Meeting.” When the young men would not admit their error, the monthly meeting decided to refer the case to the quarterly meeting for advice. It in turn referred the case to yearly meeting, which decided in 1759 that wearing a wig was not in itself a disownable offense. In the next year, two men asked for permission from the monthly meeting to wear wigs, which ruled that one of the men gave sufficient reasons and could wear “a decent plain One.”²⁰

In 1754 Arthur Dobbs became the governor of North Carolina. Dobbs was a dedicated Anglican, and he wanted to strengthen the established church in the colony. For several years, the Anglican tithe gatherers looked to their own members for support and had not bothered the Quakers. Governor Dobbs sent the tithe gatherers to visit the Friends. One missionary stated that the Quakers “are very guilty of Railing against the Church & Minister even in Public.” The overseers in Pasquotank Monthly Meeting complained in 1755 that many members were paying the tithes or priests wages. The overseers in Perquimans Monthly Meeting complained that Joseph Winslow was guilty of buying some goods that had been seized from a Friend for priests’ wages in 1756, but he later acknowledged his wrongdoing. During the next few years, the following distraints were collected:²¹

Friends’ Sufferings on Account of Tithes, 1756–1760
(Year, pounds, shillings, pence)

1756	£10.14.5
1758	£14.17.6
1759	£29.09.8
1760	£23

Trouble over the tithe issue began at the same time that Governor Dobbs was trying to strengthen the militia. In 1755, the Assembly considered a militia bill to help England fight the war against France. The Assembly considered a proposal to exempt the Friends from the militia altogether, but it rejected the proposal because “such exemption must be attended with bad consequences.” The next year, the Assembly passed a new militia act which provided that every twentieth man would serve in the war. All conscientious objectors would face the court martial. When yearly meeting met in 1757, it appointed a standing committee to attend the court martial in each county

and explain the reasons Friends could not serve in the army. The members of the committee later informed Pasquotank Monthly Meeting that the court martial in that county accepted their reasons and would not collect the fine. In 1758 the yearly meeting requested that one Friend attend the court martial in each county. The standing committee sent a petition to the governor, since some counties were collecting the tax by distraint of goods. In 1759 the total amount of goods taken from Friends was £55.13.10, but £25 of this sum was collected in Dobbs County (Falling Creek Meeting) alone. As in the Tuscarora War, only one Friend served in the war (Joseph Winslow of Cane Creek). In 1760 the Assembly set the fine for refusing to serve in the militia at \$40 per person.²²

The mistreatment of Quakers in North Carolina may have played a role in the developing stand against slavery. Many eastern Friends held slaves, including Robert Wilson, the former clerk of the yearly meeting; still, Friends were careful to treat their slaves humanely. Perquimans Monthly Meeting ruled in 1738 “that no frend . . . Shall Suffer yr Negroes to Labour on the first Day of the Week,” and two years later Virginia Yearly Meeting mentioned “using Negroes well, &c.” in their epistle to North Carolina Yearly Meeting. Samuel Fothergill, the reformer minister from England, was shocked at the practice of slaveholding among Friends in North Carolina, and he advised them to free themselves from slavery. Three years later, John Woolman made his second travel in the ministry to North Carolina. He sent a letter to Cane Creek and New Garden monthly meetings urging them “to keep clear from purchasing” slaves; while he was attending Pasquotank Monthly Meeting, a member suggested that Friends might begin to hold religious meetings with slaves in that county. The quarterly meeting forwarded the matter to the yearly meeting in 1758, where Friends made two major decisions on the issue of slavery. First, the yearly meeting ordered Albemarle Friends to hold four meetings with slaves. Second, the yearly meeting created a new Query which asked, “Are all that have Negroes Carefull to use them well and Encourage them to Come to meetings as much as they reasonably Can?” The meetings with slaves continued through the next six years; Friends had taken the first steps toward the final elimination of slavery.²³

In the meantime, Friends in eastern North Carolina continued to expand and establish more meetings. In 1756 a new meeting was created at Suttons Creek in the house of John Anderson, and another meeting was created near Vosses Creek in the house of John Morgan. Friends at Piney Woods had to enlarge their meetinghouse also. A new meeting was started near Tar River by 1757, and it was officially recognized in 1758. That year another new

meeting was opened in the house of John Copeland in Bertie County. Friends received two setbacks that year also; the meeting at Yeopim was laid down, and the meetinghouses at Wells and Piney Woods burned. In two years, new and larger meetinghouses were in use both at Piney Woods and Wells; the new Wells meetinghouse was such an improvement that the monthly meeting moved there in 1764 and never met elsewhere until 1794.²⁴

In 1757, an important idea arose in Symons Creek Monthly Meeting. Because each monthly meeting had only one copy of the Discipline, many members had no way of knowing what the overseers expected of them. Symons Creek Monthly Meeting decided to allow members to take the Discipline home after each monthly meeting to read it. By the end of the colonial era, practically all monthly meetings were circulating the Discipline. Core Sound Monthly Meeting even required people to read it when they were considering becoming members.²⁵

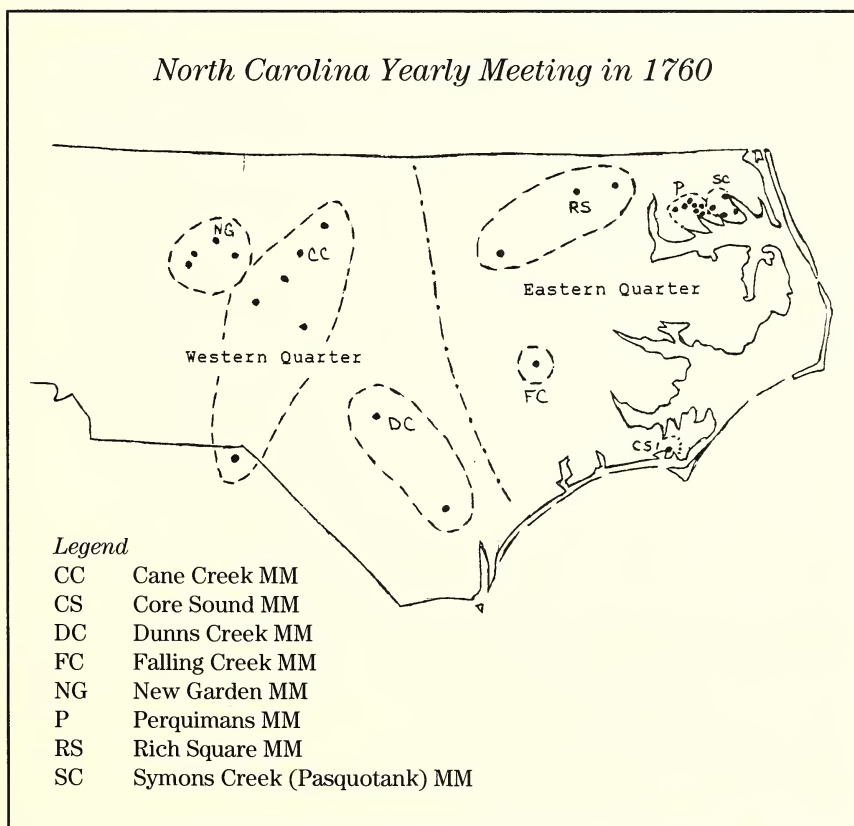
As Joseph Robinson's term as clerk neared its end, the organization of the yearly meeting was expanded. By 1757 Carvers Creek Friends had all moved away, so their monthly meeting was settled at Dunns Creek. New Garden Monthly Meeting requested a preparative meeting at Deep River in 1758 from the quarterly meeting, which gave a characteristic eastern North Carolina response that it "leaves it to the Discretion of their Monthly Meeting;" Friends at New Garden remembered that the quarterly meetings in Pennsylvania and Virginia were more strict in allowing preparative meetings. In 1759 New Garden and Cane Creek monthly meetings asked for a division of the quarterly meeting. The yearly meeting decided to create a new quarter for those two monthly meetings, and in 1760 it transferred Dunns Creek Meeting to that quarter. The two quarterly meetings had no names at first, but gradually the names of Eastern and Western quarterly meetings developed. The quarterly meeting in the meantime opened a new monthly meeting for Friends in Northampton County, Rich Square Monthly Meeting.²⁶

A significant development during the latter years of the 1750s was the increase in cases of discipline. More members were disowned in the five years 1756–1760 than the total number of complaints in similar five-year periods before 1750. Although a large percentage of the reasons for care are not known, it is clear that during the 1740s and 1750s there was a shift in offenses among both men and women toward marrying non-Friends, which diluted the Quaker influence of the parents on the children. The yearly meeting faced serious problems with the apathy among younger Friends, but as yet their response of stripping young Friends of their membership was not

Joseph Robinson, Clerk, 1741-1760

considered inappropriate by the leaders of the yearly meeting.²⁷

The yearly meeting had grown drastically in the twenty years since Joseph Robinson was selected as clerk in 1741. The yearly meeting had grown from three monthly meetings to eight, and there were several preparative meetings with a large attendance. Friends continued to stream south into the Carolina backcountry and organize new meetings. Joseph Robinson's second wife (Sarah Pendleton Robinson, clerk of Pasquotank women's monthly meeting) died in 1760, so he presided over his last yearly meeting and moved to Virginia. North Carolina Yearly Meeting was growing rapidly in 1760, and the loss of several dozen nominal members was seen as critical to the process of purifying the Society of Friends from the outer world.



Chapter V

Regulators, Slavery, and Expansion, 1761–1775

In the fifteen years prior to the American Revolution, Friends in North Carolina faced several new challenges due to their tremendous expansion. The immigration from Virginia and Pennsylvania continued from the 1740s to the 1760s; in the early 1770s it was supplanted by a large immigration from Nantucket island off Massachusetts. The huge number of new settlers in the Carolina backcountry led to the strong stand of the Friends against slavery as well as the War of the Regulation in 1771.

During the year 1761 there were three developments concerning the structure of the yearly meeting. Early in the year, Western Quarter appointed a committee to visit Dunns Creek Monthly Meeting due to a fear that it was “out of order Respecting the Ministry and Right management of discipline.” The quarterly meeting considered the possibility of revoking Dunns Creek Monthly Meeting, but the visiting committee reported that Dunns Creek Friends “appeared Condescending and willing to be Instructed.” The meeting was still divided over the appearance of the disowned John Crews in the worship and business meetings. The second development came in the same month when New Garden Meeting established the first monthly meeting of ministers and elders in North Carolina Yearly Meeting. By the fall of the year, Cane Creek Monthly Meeting had settled its monthly meeting of ministers and elders. A third concern Friends entertained in 1761 was the question of select meetings for discipline (meaning that only members were allowed to attend business meetings; this movement targeted disruptive non-members like Crews at Dunns Creek). Perquimans Monthly Meeting sent a minute to Eastern Quarterly Meeting seeking advice on the issue, and it forwarded the request to yearly meeting. The yearly meeting decided that select meetings were preferable and instructed meetings on the procedure for purging non-members from the sessions:

... it is the advice & Judgment of this Meeting, that all Meetings of Business belonging to this Meeting, ought prudently to purge themselves from Allow-ing Such as are not in Unity to be present in such Meetings, First by privately

Regulators, Slavery, and Expansion, 1761–1775

Acquainting Such Persons that their Company is not Expected or Desired in our Meetings of Discipline, And if Such private Admonition prove Ineffectual, that Such as will Intrude themselves be Publickly Desired to withdraw. And as this Meeting would not Discourage any Sober well-minded Inquiring person by this Restriction, it is further Thought proper to advise that Meetings of Business may not be themselves so Strict in this Respect, but that they may at their own Discretion admit of sober well Inclined persons Being present in Such Meetings on their Making Application for Such a Liberty to Some Elder or Judicious Friend.¹

Another issue which carried over briefly into the new decade was that of militia duties. Although the Seven Years War ended in the colonies in 1759, the militia continued to meet in each county to prepare for a possible sea invasion. Fortunately, many militia captains excused Friends from the musters. In 1761 Core Sound Monthly Meeting sent a note of appreciation to the militia leaders of Carteret and Craven counties stating their gratitude that the militia decided not to distrain goods from Friends for not attending musters. The fines slowly receded from £14.17.4 in 1762 to £1.6.8 in 1765.²

Of much more import was the discussion of enforcing the Discipline. The business at monthly meetings began to reflect a stronger emphasis on discipline; in many cases, no other matter was discussed at monthly meeting. The quarterly meetings often urged the overseers to visit needy members and exhort them to a greater attention to the leadings of the inner guide. When a member would not respond positively to the visit, the overseer would bring a complaint to the preparative meeting. That meeting would appoint a visiting committee to bring the matter to the member's attention, hoping that he or she would recognize past misconduct and promise to do better. If the member were obstinate, the case was referred to monthly meeting. That meeting would send another committee to the offending member and state that a refusal to repent of the misconduct would be considered a sign of disunity which would force the monthly meeting to disown the person for not being in unity with Friends. The member could either attend the ensuing monthly meeting and condemn the misconduct or be disowned. Any disowned member could appeal the case to the quarterly or even to the yearly meeting; these bodies appointed similar committees to investigate the case, and the decision of the yearly meeting was final.

The overseers found more cause for complaint among the members. During the first half of the 1760s, the number of complaints doubled from the latter half of the 1750s, One hundred and two Friends were disowned in these five years. Among the men, the greatest causes for disownment were disorderly marriage (32.7 percent), drinking (14.5 percent), debt (12.7 per-

cent), and swearing and cursing (10.9 percent). The major causes for disownment of women Friends were disorderly marriage (63.8 percent) and fornication (14.9 percent).³

Friends perceived that disorderly conduct was rampant in the Society. When the New Garden overseers complained of one member for not paying his debts, he simply moved away. Symons Creek Monthly Meeting was forced to disown one of its members who refused to settle with his creditors under any circumstances. The New Garden overseers also complained that many Friends married out of unity and then condemned their misconduct at the next monthly meeting; they were violating the Discipline with impunity. Another of its members found that selling liquor at the Guilford County militia musters was financially rewarding. The monthly meeting decided that it should send three men to read the text of the Discipline in each of the preparative meetings.⁴

The disorders in Western Quarter were described this way by the clerk in the answers to the Queries in the spring of 1764:

The Queries and the answers thereunto hath been Read in this meeting, from which it appears that there is too much slackness in the attending of Meetings, too many addicted to that weakness of sleeping in meetings, a fear that all parents are not Strictly Carefull in the Education of their Children, a Neglect of timely Paying Just debts, and the making of wills Not Carefully Minded; some Guilty of that pernicious Evil of tatling and talebearing, the plainness of speech in the Single Language Not duly Observed; Nor the calling of the days of the Weeks and the months by their Heathenish Names Not duly Avoided, Nor carefully abstaining from the Excess of Meets, drinks, and apparel; the Use of tobacco too much abused; A complaint of too Early procedure in second Marriage; Some Moving Without Certificates, a want of a Regular Behaviour in converse and Commerce.⁵

A great deal of the commotion regarding the discipline took place at the quarterly meeting. Six members appealed their disownments to Western Quarter between 1761 and 1765, although none of them was reinstated. Monthly meetings also asked the quarterly meetings for advice in difficult cases such as the perennial case of John Crews at Dunns Creek.⁶

The most famous incident in the disciplinary efforts of Friends during the 1760s was the Rachel Wright affair. When Rachel Wright and her family moved to Fredericksburg (South Carolina) Monthly Meeting, she requested a certificate to transfer her membership there from Cane Creek. Normally the monthly meeting would appoint a committee to investigate into the family's affairs to ensure they were not attempting to abscond from the area or defraud their creditors. The women's overseers found cause for complaint

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of Rachel Wright (which none of the clerks involved ever recorded), and the women's monthly meeting insisted that Rachel send a paper condemning her misconduct before her membership could be transferred. When men Friends were not satisfied with her paper, they prevented the drafting of a certificate for the family. Rachel appealed the case to Western Quarterly Meeting, which appointed a committee to settle the matter "to Each parties satisfaction." The committee reported in 1763 that Cane Creek was "Rather too Exact or strenuous" and ordered the monthly meeting to send Rachel a certificate. The monthly meeting refused to issue one, so the quarterly meeting committee prepared one itself. At the next session of Western Quarter, the committee reported that Cane Creek Monthly Meeting was "out of order and ought to come under the Care and notice of this meeting for Refuseing to Joyn the advice given them."⁷

The matter was not settled by the actions of Western Quarterly Meeting. During its fall sessions, the quarterly meeting clerk recorded "there still appears a great disorder" at Cane Creek; the meeting was beginning to divide between the two contending parties. The quarterly meeting sent a committee to investigate. In the meantime, Herman Husband published a tract in which he criticized the monthly meeting for its actions in the debate. When the monthly meeting sent a committee to visit him, he told it that he would rather be disowned than recant. The monthly meeting disowned him in early 1764, although there was not unity in the meeting for the decision. Several members therefore signed a paper supporting Husband. The quarterly meeting ordered the monthly meeting to disown these supporters of Husband. Four of them appealed to the yearly meeting, which decided in 1764 that the quarterly meeting's action was not "Regular, Safe, or according to wholesome Rules of Discipline." The yearly meeting reinstated the supporters of Husband. In 1766, a yearly meeting committee reported that the quarterly meeting chose to edit "the Judgment of the yearly Meeting" so much that they partially altered "the Sence of said Judgment." The yearly meeting ordered the quarterly meeting clerk to record the whole yearly meeting minute into the quarterly meeting book.⁸

Because there was no means of appealing beyond the yearly meeting, the Rachel Wright affair ended. When the time came to appoint representatives to quarterly meeting, the members of Cane Creek decided to compromise; they sent two supporters of Husband and two supporters of the quarterly meeting. The yearly meeting clerk noted that unity did not exist in Western Quarter "in so amiable a manner as they Could desire, the former old matter of uneasiness Still Continuing too much unsettled." The matter was revived

in 1766 when Husband married Amy Allen, who was a member in unity. Cane Creek Monthly Meeting decided to request advice from the quarterly meeting on how to deal with those members who attended the disorderly marriage, and the quarterly meeting recommended that Cane Creek disown them. In 1767, the monthly meeting disowned seven men and four women, including Amy's mother. After this incident, the Rachel Wright matter faded into the background.⁹

There remained a great deal of concern in Western Quarter for the behavior of members. The quarterly meeting itself frequently addressed the fact that Friends at Dunns Creek Monthly Meeting rarely attended the quarterly meeting sessions. The quarterly meeting sent several visiting committees and in 1764 threatened again to revoke their monthly meeting. The yearly meeting recommended that the quarter continue its care towards Dunns Creek Friends and encouraged Western Quarter to revoke the privilege of holding a monthly meeting if the situation at Dunns Creek did not improve. In another case, the women's monthly meeting at Cane Creek took a step on its own in 1766 and sent a visiting committee to Eno Meeting to investigate a concern that its members were not attending meetings. This action led to the decision by Western Quarter to revoke Eno Preparative Meeting in 1768. In 1766, Charles Davies, a minister at Cane Creek, accused "the womens minutes of being mixed with an untruth." He refused to recant, and the monthly meeting disowned him. He appealed their decision to the quarterly meeting, which sustained the monthly meeting. Although Davies threatened to appeal to yearly meeting, he decided not to travel the distance and the case ended.¹⁰

An interesting concern for the behavior of members appeared in New Garden Meeting. In 1764 a member there wondered if Indians still owned the land where Friends lived. Many of these Friends moved into piedmont North Carolina due to problems with the Indians at Hopewell, Virginia. These members wanted to be certain they were not building their houses on Indian land. The meeting appointed a committee to consider the matter, which reported the next month that the Cheraw Indians had left the area many years before. Since they would probably not return, the monthly meeting dropped the matter.¹¹

The many problems Friends in Western Quarter faced led them to ask the yearly meeting to revise the Queries. The yearly meeting assigned the revisal to the standing committee, which took part of the London and Philadelphia Queries as well as some of the old Queries. It also prepared a different set of

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Queries for the women's meetings, although these Queries were substantially the same as those for the men.¹²

Revising the Queries occurred concurrently with an increasing emphasis on enforcing the Discipline. The number of disownments rose from 102 during the first half of the 1760s to 154 during the second half. While the number of women Friends who lost their membership rose from 47 to 50, the number of disowned men Friends almost doubled (from 55 to 104). Among the men, the number of disownments for disorderly marriage and fornication increased from 40 percent for the early 1760s to 49 percent for the late 1760s; the percentage for the women for these offenses declined from 79 percent to 66 percent. There was little change in the frequency of other offenses except the increase for attending a disorderly marriage (due to Herman Husband's marriage).¹³

Two of the cases that led to a member's disownment give good indications of the importance of allowing the monthly meetings to discipline members. In 1767 a member of Rich Square received a series of visiting committees due to his failure to satisfy his creditors in due time. With the passage of time, he continued to refuse to pay his debts. Finally, after twenty-nine months of visitation, the monthly meeting was informed that the man had actually been involved in a murder. He was immediately disowned. Another Friend in Symons Creek Monthly Meeting was visited by a committee for a lack of diligence in paying his debts also; he simply moved away, leaving his wife and children at home and the debt unpaid. Since there was no way for the visiting committee to meet with him, the monthly meeting disowned him.¹⁴

With the increasing numbers of complaints against members, the volume of business became unmanageable. In 1768 Symons Creek Monthly Meeting asked the yearly meeting how Friends ought to deal with members who married contrary to the rules of the Society of Friends (disorderly marriage covered both marrying a non-member as well as conducting the ceremony contrary to the Discipline). The yearly meeting ruled that a monthly meeting could disown a member for disorderly marriage without sending a visiting committee if the Friend had been warned before the misconduct took place. Otherwise the monthly meeting had to send the visiting committee. For the first time, the yearly meeting had designated an offense which automatically terminated membership.¹⁵

Discussion of the eroding morality in Western Quarter occurred simultaneously with a perceived breakdown of the colonial government in the 1760s

in what became known as the Regulator movement. Although some Eastern North Carolinians considered the Regulator unrest to be a plot by Quakers and Baptists to overthrow the established church, few Friends actually served as leaders of the movement. Ironically, two former Friends in Rowan County helped create the bad conditions that led to the Regulator movement. James Frohock and James Carter moved to Rowan County from the north and became Anglicans because there was no Friends meeting near their homes. Frohock and Carter became so unscrupulous in their public service that Lord Granville estimated that half of the taxes collected in his part of the colony were embezzled. Frohock was serving as sheriff of Rowan County; he and Edmund Fanning of Orange County were the most disliked public officials of the late 1760s. Some citizens began to form groups to observe the transactions of county officials, and these groups became known as Regulators.¹⁶

The charge that Quakers led the Regulator movement were mostly unfounded. The most significant Regulator with a connection to the Quakers was Herman Husband. His pamphlets criticizing public officials helped to spread the unrest throughout backcountry North Carolina. During 1768 and 1769, the two western monthly meetings (Cane Creek and New Garden) disowned five other people for participating in Regulator activities. New Garden disowned two members of preparative meetings, William Norton of Centre and George Mills of Deep River for joining the Regulators, and Cane Creek disowned Herman Cox for the same. When the Regulators decided that they would no longer pay taxes “untill better Satisfied to know what such moneys were applyed to,” Cane Creek disowned Abraham Hammer and George Henry for abiding by the agreement instead of the command of Christ (Matthew 22:21). Of these five men, only Herman Cox actually served as a leader among the Regulators.¹⁷

During the next two years, the popular uprising spread and increased in strength throughout the western counties, but the Friends played practically no role. The counties with important Regulator groups were Rowan, Orange, Anson, Mecklenberg, and Johnston; several of these counties sent Regulators to the Assembly. One of the Regulators elected to the Assembly was Herman Husband, who defeated Edmund Fanning. Husband was expelled from the Assembly for some statements he made during the sessions of the Assembly and then jailed. Although Sheriff Frohock reached a settlement with the Regulators, Governor William Tryon decided to end the troubles before the impending inauguration of his successor. Tryon brought the militia to Hillsborough, where some Regulators fought him in the Battle of

Alamance. Husband fled to Pennsylvania rather than fight, and Tryon forced the local residents to swear an oath of allegiance to the Crown. Cane Creek Monthly Meeting later disowned eighteen men Friends for either aiding in the rebellion or taking the oath.¹⁸

One important benefit Friends gained from the Regulator unrest was an exemption from militia service. During 1770 the Assembly debated the passage of a new militia act. The final bill required Friends to give their names to the commanding officers in each county, but they were only required to provide militia service if a rebellion erupted (as Governor Tryon anticipated with the Regulators). The fine for not obeying the new law was £10. Most Friends apparently observed the law in each county individually, although Rich Square Monthly Meeting granted lists of members for the militia of Northampton and Bertie counties during 1771 and 1772.¹⁹

It is possible that the Regulator claims of oppression helped to further the Friends' position against slavery. During the mid-1760s, Eastern Quarter's meetings with slaves were dropped, and there was no further activity on the behalf of slaves until 1767 when two eastern Friends moved to New Garden. One of them appeared at monthly meeting with a certificate to transfer his membership from Cedar Creek (Virginia) Monthly Meeting; but the New Garden Friends sent a visiting committee to him because he sold a slave, separating him from his wife. The member later condemned his misconduct. Another member moved to Rowan County from Pasquotank County. The overseers complained that he had "been concerned in the unchristian Trade of slave buying," which he also condemned. The monthly meeting sent a request to Western Quarterly Meeting requesting the yearly meeting to consider a stronger stand against slavery, and in 1768 the yearly meeting decided:

... that the discipline & Queries Relating thereto ought to be understood as a prohibition of Buying Negroes to trade upon or of them that trade in them; and as the having of Negroes is become a Burthen to Such as are in Possession of them it might be well for the meeting to advise all friends to be careful not to buy or Sell in any Case that can be Reasonably avoided.²⁰

The 1768 action by the yearly meeting did not satisfy Friends at New Garden. In 1769 they sent a message to the quarterly meeting stating that Friends there still felt "an uneasiness . . . concerning the Query relating to Negroes." They asked the quarterly meeting to seek a further revision of the Query. Western Quarter also hoped that "a more fuller Restraint may be laid Upon . . . buying and selling Negroes," and it referred the matter to yearly meeting. When the yearly meeting met, the anti-slavery Friends received a

boost from the London epistle, in which British Friends urged North Carolina Friends to follow the pattern of other North American yearly meetings and free their slaves. Still, the yearly meeting found that the New Garden request was too weighty to settle then. The matter was referred to the next yearly meeting.²¹

The stance against slavery was slowly gaining ground. In 1770 the yearly meeting revised the slavery Query to ask if Friends were clear of importing slaves and if they refused to do business with slave traders. New Garden Friends sent a protest that the Query did not address their concern, but the 1771 yearly meeting could not find unity on the matter. In 1772 the standing committee met and signed a statement endorsing a letter to the King by the Virginia House of Burgesses requesting a prohibition of the importation of slaves. When yearly meeting met, Friends found unity in recommending that no member in unity should purchase slaves except to maintain family units or for another reason approved by the monthly meeting.²²

Beginning in 1773, Eastern Quarter Friends began to show their first signs of opposition to slavery. In that year, the yearly meeting ruled that Friends could not purchase slaves except from a member in unity. One member violated the decision, and Symons Creek Monthly Meeting sent a committee of Friends to visit with him until he condemned his misconduct. In Perquimans County, Humphrey Park received permission from Wells Monthly Meeting to purchase a slave from a non-Friend. During 1774 three eastern Friends sought aid from their monthly meetings in manumitting their slaves: Thomas Newby of Symons Creek and John Nixon and Josiah Winslow of Wells. Because the monthly meetings did not know how to instruct the owners to free the slaves given the laws of the colony, the standing committee suggested that the meetings appoint some Friends to help them. The pressure on slaveowners increased during 1774 when Thomas Nicholson, a prominent member of Symons Creek Monthly Meeting, received permission to print two books, “Light Upon the Candlestick” and “Liberty and Property,” which sought a loosening of the manumission laws in North Carolina. In 1775 the yearly meeting decided upon request by western Friends that no Friend could sell a slave without consent of the monthly meeting.²³

Significantly, actions by eastern Friends led to the prohibition of slave ownership by North Carolina Quakers. In the spring of 1776, two Friends in Symons Creek Monthly Meeting sold their slaves because they feared the yearly meeting would rule against slaveholding. The monthly meetings asked Eastern Quarterly Meeting how to proceed with them, and it referred the case to yearly meeting. Friends at yearly meeting in 1776 decided that all

members should free their slaves “as soon as they possibly can.” After fifteen years of debate, North Carolina Yearly Meeting finally adopted the strong stand that slavery was unchristian, and that it was the yearly meeting’s duty to cleanse itself of members who violated this testimony.²⁴

During this period of time, South Carolina became the beneficiary of the southward migration of Friends. As in North Carolina a decade earlier, meetings were needed across the colony quicker than they could be created. In 1767 Fredericksburg Monthly Meeting (near present-day Camden, South Carolina) officially applied for membership in Western Quarter. The influx of new Friends was so great that in 1770 Western Quarterly Meeting set off Bush River Monthly Meeting from Fredericksburg Monthly Meeting. Bush River (Newberry County) was the centre of South Carolina Quakerism, and by 1772 three other meetings for worship were created there: Padgett’s Creek, Little River, and Tiger River. In 1773 Bush River Monthly Meeting merged Tiger River Meeting with the newly created Cane Creek (South Carolina) Meeting, which had a more central location. The settlements in South Carolina were large; at one time, more than 800 people attended meeting at Bush River.²⁵

These large Friends settlements in South Carolina spilled over into Georgia as well. In 1770 the colonial Assembly in Georgia deeded 40,000 acres to Joseph Maddock and Jonathan Sill (two Friends from Cane Creek, North Carolina) for the settlement of Friends in McDuffie County. (Both of these men had been supporters of Herman Husband in the Rachel Wright affair.) This settlement became known as Wrightsborough, and in 1773 Western Quarterly Meeting allowed Friends to hold an official meeting for worship. Later in the same year the quarterly meeting took the extraordinary step of creating a monthly and preparative meeting at Wrightsborough at the same time.²⁶

As South Carolina Friends created new meetings, North Carolina Friends were reorganizing their meetings. During the 1760s, new meetings were opened at Clubfoot Creek in Craven County and at Spring, Providence, and Holly Spring in Orange County. Other meetings were dying: Mill Creek, Tyson’s, and Eno in Orange County, Copeland’s in Hertford County, and Falling Creek in Dobbs County. More reorganization took place in the first three years of the 1770s. New meetings were created at Muddy Creek and Toms Creek in Surry County, Back Creek in Guilford County, Mayo’s in Perquimans County, Jack Swamp in Northampton County, and Contentnea and Neuse (at Richard Cox’s house) in Dobbs County. In 1772, the quarterly meeting laid down two monthly meetings and created two new ones. The

monthly meeting at Falling Creek was moved to the new settlement at Contentnea; Dunns Creek Monthly Meeting was demoted to a preparative meeting, and another monthly meeting was opened at Centre in Guilford County. Eastern Quarterly Meeting considered a proposal from Rich Square Monthly Meeting to divide that quarterly meeting, but it chose not to forward the proposal to yearly meeting.

The tightening of the discipline extended to the ministers and elders. At the beginning of each meeting of the ministers and elders, the clerk read over the names of each minister and elder; any members who were absent were expected to render reasons for their absence. The Yearly Meeting of Ministers and Elders bought a copy of Samuel Bownas's book, *A Description of the Qualifications Necessary to a Gospel Minister*, which circulated among its members for at least fifteen years. The body also began to discipline its members, acting as a miniature monthly meeting. When one elder neglected his home meeting, he was stripped of his office as elder.²⁷

The number of disownments during the early 1770s did not increase significantly from the late 1760s (154 during 1766–70 compared to 166 during 1771–75). There was little change in the frequency of offenses, with two exceptions. The first exception was the offense of joining the Regulators (15.8 percent of the men), which was a temporary offense. The other significant change was the rapid increase in disownments for fornication. The actual number of these disownments doubled from 18 to 36 (19.2 percent of the men and 28.3 percent of the women, an increase from 11.5 percent of the men and 12 percent of the women). Men Friends also seemed to be more prone to drinking (17.5 percent, up from 12 percent) and cursing and swearing (13.3 percent, up from 6.7 percent) than formerly. Further, two cases of wife beating occurred during these years. In one case, Wells Monthly Meeting disowned the offending man without sending a visiting committee because it was the second time his wife had complained.²⁸

Political action in New England slowly began to spill over into North Carolina. British warships began to sail for Boston to quell the troubles brewing there, and they also made life difficult for Nantucket whalers. More than two-thirds of the population of Nantucket was Quaker, and the Friends there depended upon the whale industry for their livelihood. After a religious visit to Nantucket Island off Massachusetts by William Hunt, a minister from New Garden, many of the Friends there decided to move to North Carolina. During the period 1771–1775, New Garden received fifty families from Nantucket. Many Friends made this move without receiving certificates from Nantucket Monthly Meeting, which was usually not a problem.

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Friends in North Carolina regularly moved into another monthly meeting and then sent home for a certificate to transfer their memberships. The vast distance between New Garden and Nantucket made the process difficult, and in 1774 New Garden asked Nantucket to take greater care. The Nantucket migration was the last migration of Friends into North Carolina.²⁹

The turmoil between the colonists and England increased. When a skirmish took place in Massachusetts in the spring of 1775, Rich Square Monthly Meeting heard that the local militia would soon be called. It sent a new list of members to be excused from militia duty in three counties (Northampton, Halifax, and Hertford). Loyalist and patriot leaders were forming units to fight in the coming rebellion; three Friends joined these units (one each from Wells, Symons Creek, and Bush River monthly meetings). As the year 1775 came to a close, Wrightsborough Monthly Meeting sent a message to the governor of Georgia stating that Friends there would not participate in the rebellion. Their address made little difference; the war had started.³⁰

Chapter VI

The American Revolution and Aftermath, 1776–1789

When the American Revolution started, North Carolina Yearly Meeting took a bold stand that its members should not participate in changing the structure of the government. Their belief that such activity was the realm of God's wisdom rather than man's brought them into public disfavor again. The Assembly and the Friends struggled for seven years to achieve an understanding over oaths and affirmations, and their disagreements over slavery were not settled for several generations.

One of the most difficult decisions Friends faced in early 1776 was the degree to which they should recognize the validity of the revolutionary government. None of their members had taken part in government since William Borden attempted to serve in the Assembly in 1746. (He was not seated because he could not take the oath of office.) The Quakers could not vote or serve on juries, so they were effectively isolated from the actual workings of the colonial government. Western Quarterly Meeting recommended "that friends continue to attend to their own business and not participate in political affairs." The standing committee advised that Friends who felt they needed to use the new revolutionary money could do so, but within a few years the yearly meeting was complaining about "the present Unstable Circulating Currency."¹

As the cry for freedom rose from the patriot armies, the Friends sought the same without force of arms. Throughout 1776, Symons Creek Monthly Meeting attempted to free a series of slaves formerly held by members of that meeting. Five members (including one woman) decided to sell their slaves rather than give them freedom. The monthly meeting tried to buy the slaves back, but was unsuccessful. The men's meeting disowned the four men Friends in 1777, but the women Friends accepted the condemnation offered by the former female slaveholder. A committee appointed by the yearly meeting reported in 1777 that many members had freed slaves in the past year

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until the sheriffs of Perquimans and Pasquotank counties arrested about forty of the freed slaves and sold them.²

Efforts by the Assembly of 1777 to unify the different peoples of the state behind the new government and establish its legitimacy seemed to target the nonconformist religious groups. The Assembly passed an oath of allegiance act that allowed the plain groups in the state (Quakers, Mennonites, Moravians, and Dunkards) to affirm rather than swear allegiance to the state. However, these groups rejected this effort at a “compromise,” because the wording of the statement suggested that the military efforts used to support the new government were also legitimate. Any person refusing to take the oath was required to leave the state; he could not sue at law, and his land could be taken if another person filed a deed for it. The act concerning slavery stated that a slaveholder could only manumit slaves for meritorious service if the county courts judged the service was exceptional. Otherwise, the county sheriffs could continue to arrest and sell freed blacks. Last, the Militia Act provided that none of the plain peoples would be forced to serve in the militia, but their governing bodies had to prepare lists of members from whom the militia captains would distrain \$25.³

These laws were unsatisfactory to the Friends. The yearly meeting sent an address to the Assembly showing they could not abide by the oath act because “the proposed Affirmation Approves of the present Measures.” It encouraged the monthly meetings to deal with members who took it. The yearly meeting also protested the new act concerning the freed slaves. Several Friends allowed freed slaves to bind themselves to them for life until the yearly meeting advised against it, because the heirs of the Friends might consider the slaves their property later. The Quakers did not officially protest the Militia Act, but they probably did not appreciate the fact that the local militia took a total of \$1213.9.2 in goods from them.⁴

During the troubling year of 1777, North Carolina Yearly Meeting considered two proposals which were intended to increase the communication between meetings. First, it decided that each monthly meeting needed a meeting of ministers and elders (each monthly meeting in Western Quarter already had one); this meeting would help bring the leaders of the Society of Friends together more often to consider their common problems. Western Quarterly Meeting asked the yearly meeting to consider alternating the annual sessions between the quarters due to the great expense involved in travelling to Old Neck each year. Since North Carolina Yearly Meeting had met consistently in the eastern parts of the colony for so long, eastern Friends recommended a division in the yearly meeting instead. This proposal

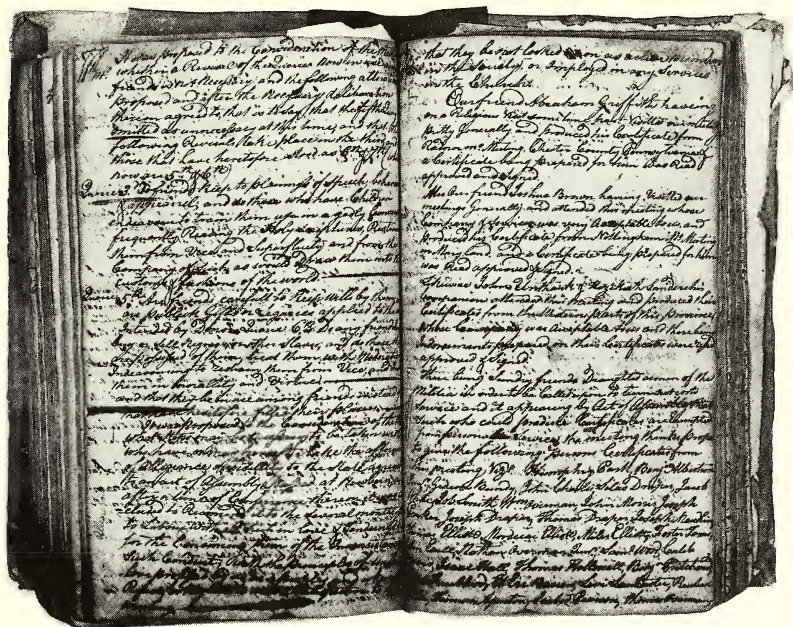
was rejected by Western Quarter Friends, who valued their acquaintance with eastern Friends.⁵

Relations between the Friends and the colonial governments were becoming more strained. Thomas Beals felt drawn to preach to the Mingo and Delaware Indians. New Garden Monthly Meeting gave him a traveling minute, and William Robinson was led to accompany him as a companion. The two men traveled into western Pennsylvania, where some soldiers captured them near Fort Pitt and held them for several days. The soldiers took Beals's certificate and sent the men home.⁶

Since the plain peoples refused to help with the war effort, the Assembly of 1778 passed a series of acts to punish them. The Act for Raising Men to Complete the Continental Battalions required the Friends to furnish men in proportion to their numbers in each county even if they had to hire a substitute. As usual, the sheriff could distrain goods if necessary to enforce the act. Another bill "to provide for the troops" established quotas in each county of needed goods such as linens, shoes, and hats. Since the plain groups would not comply with the law, the Assembly tripled their taxes. Later it added an additional six pence tax on them. Another act legalized the sale of the slaves that the Friends had freed; the Assembly even urged the county sheriffs to arrest more slaves for resale. The last important act was a revision of the affirmation, which made little significant change in the wording.⁷

The changes in the laws were offensive to Friends. Western Quarterly Meeting suggested that Friends refuse to pay the additional tax to be levied on them, which it called a war tax. The yearly meeting of 1778 sent a committee to visit the Assembly to inform it that Friends still could not take the affirmation because the alteration was not significant enough. Insofar as the emancipation act was concerned, the yearly meeting collected £600 to hire four lawyers to fight the law in superior court. Friends argued that the law intended to sell people who had been freed before the act was passed was an *ex post facto* act.⁸

Friends in different parts of the yearly meeting reacted to the Assembly acts differently. Wells Monthly Meeting chose to prepare certificates of unity for its members after they had been drafted. Its overseers complained that one member paid the muster fine; one woman in Symons Creek Monthly Meeting paid the war tax for her father. At the end of 1778, the monthly meetings began to deal with the members who took the affirmation; in two years, twenty-eight Friends had condemned this misconduct.⁹



Minutes of Eastern Quarterly Meeting, 11–28–1778, in which opposition to taxation is expressed. It is “inconsistent with our peaceful principles.”

Complaints for taking the oath may have been unusually large, but they were only a small part of a great increase in complaints and disownments. During the years 1776–1780, the disownments of men increased by 42 percent over the years 1771–1775. The greatest increase, of course, was in the area of mustering (27.5 percent). Half of these cases occurred in South Carolina and Georgia. Other offences that occurred more frequently were disorderly marriage (which increased from thirty-seven cases to sixty-nine), fighting (which increased from five to fourteen), and gaming (which increased from four to eleven). One offence which declined during this period was drinking (dropped from twenty-one to ten cases). Among women, the offences increased also, especially disorderly marriage (which increased from twenty-four cases to forty-four); all other offences remained at their old level.¹⁰

Throughout history, former Friends have frequently returned to meeting during times of armed conflict. The first evidence of this trend appeared during the Revolution. During the years 1771–75, fifteen men Friends and twelve women Friends were reinstated, but during 1776–80 the number increased to forty four men and sixteen women. Half of the cases (both men

and women) concerned members who had married out of the Society of Friends, and half of the remainder were members who were originally disowned for fornication. The only other significant offence was mustering (18.2 percent of the men).¹¹

Because the majority of the Friends chose to abide by the decision of the yearly meeting to remain isolated from the revolutionary commotions, the Assembly continued to pass acts trying to force them to participate. The Militia Act did not cause problems for Friends; the monthly meetings continued to send certificates of unity for drafted members through 1780. In 1779 the six pence additional tax was not renewed. During its one year in effect officials collected £2152.5.10 from Friends. The yearly meeting sent two addresses to the Assembly in 1779. The first address explained why Friends decided that the new oath was still too strong for their principles. The second address encouraged the Assembly to loosen the laws against emancipating slaves. The 1780 Assembly agreed to pass a special law at the request of the Eastern Standing Committee which stated that no citizen of North Carolina could file deeds to take over a Friend's land simply because he refused to take the oath. The Assembly then passed another act that increased the tax on noncombatants by one shilling.¹²

Friends in North Carolina Yearly Meeting responded to their trying situation by taking several measures to help draw forth the gifts of the members. In 1779 the yearly meeting realized that it was not practical for the standing committee to consist of members from the two widely separated quarters, so it created a separate standing committee for Western Quarter. The Western Standing Committee went to work quickly, sending an address to the western monthly meetings stating that Friends "should uphold our peaceable Testimony by an Honest Refusal to Act or willingly [Comply] with any Regulations or Demands made by men for supporting or carrying on wars or the shedding of blood."¹³

By 1780 the war was coming to the doorstep of the Society of Friends. Each of the yearly meetings along the Atlantic seaboard sent representatives to the yearly meetings in Virginia and Philadelphia to discuss the situation, and Philadelphia Friends agreed to collect money to help Friends in South Carolina and Georgia rebuild their meetinghouses that had been damaged by the contending armies. The British army marched through Georgia, and Wrightsborough Monthly Meeting informed it of Friends' noncombatant role in the rebellion. The British marched into South Carolina and then chased the patriot army into North Carolina, where the local militia went into action drafting as many men as possible. The two armies marched through the

settlements of Deep River and New Garden on the way to the battle at Guilford Court House, and several skirmishes took place along the way. Throughout the havoc caused by two armies marching through piedmont North Carolina, stealing provisions and livestock, Friends continued to hold their monthly and quarterly meeting sessions as if nothing unusual was taking place. The minutes gave no hint that Friends were nursing hundreds of soldiers who were casualties of the battles and skirmishes. When the Battle of Guilford Court House was over, General Cornwallis marched directly through the Friends community of Cane Creek on his way to what was to be his final defeat at Yorktown, Virginia. The next year, Western Quarterly Meeting reported the American army took a total of £2148.8.0 in goods, and the British took £675.18.0. The total sufferings for the year was \$4134.¹⁴

With the Revolution over, Friends in North Carolina turned their attention once again to securing the freedom of the slaves. The yearly meeting of 1781 decided that Friends could not hire slaves, since that action would prolong their stay in slavery by providing money for their owners. It recommended that the monthly meetings send committees to visit their members who still held slaves and bring them to a sense of their Christian duty in that regard. The committees worked throughout 1782, and they obtained freedom for many slaves. Other Friends were more obstinate, but the committee reported that they were satisfied with their service. The Eastern Standing Committee sent a petition to the Assembly requesting freedom for the slaves, but it was rejected.¹⁵

The yearly meeting also took under consideration a proposal to record the children of Friends as members. The idea of birthright membership was first accepted in London Yearly Meeting in 1737, and the other American yearly meetings had already adopted it. North Carolina Yearly Meeting approved the rule in 1781 with the stipulation that a child with one disowned parent would still be recorded as a member if the other parent was a member. At the time, Friends had recently redefined “membership” to mean those people whose names were on a list, and the adoption of birthright membership was seen as outlining the process of admission of children into membership.¹⁶

In addition to the adoption of birthright membership, the 1781 yearly meeting also approved a set of annual Queries to be considered by the monthly meetings. The new Queries required a more objective response than the old Queries (which the meetings still answered). The annual Queries were:

Friends Culture in Colonial North Carolina: 1672–1789

1. What Ministers or Elders deceased and when, and what Memorials concerning them?
2. What new Meeting Houses built, or new Meetings settled?
3. What convincement since last year, and wherein in each Quarter?
4. Are the Queries appointed by this meeting to be read in the Quarterly, Monthly, and Preparative Meetings, read in each, and are the reports sent to this Meeting founded thereon?¹⁷

The strong enforcement of the Discipline continued during the early 1780s, especially among the women. The women's monthly meetings disowned 152 members during 1781–1785, compared to 71 during 1776–1780. Part of the drastic increase can be attributed to the fact that the minutes of several of their monthly meetings begin during this time, but there were increases even in those meetings whose minutes predate this time. Disownments for disorderly marriage rose from 44 during 1776–80 to 94 during 1781–85, and disownments for fornication doubled. Among the men, total disownments rose slightly from 171 to 190. There were increases in disorderly marriage (from sixty nine to eighty four) and drinking excessively (which doubled), but other offenses declined: fornication, fighting, and appearing for militia duty. By mid-decade, disownments of women continued to rise while disownments of men declined slightly.¹⁸

Although one might think that the increase in disownments would prevent the spread of Friends meetings, the opposite took place. During the Revolution, Friends had little time to open new meetings due to the contingencies of the times. The only significant development during the war was the settling of Deep River Monthly Meeting in 1778 from New Garden. Other meetings were opened at Lower Reedy Fork (Guilford County), Chestnut Creek (Virginia), Sandy Creek (Randolph County), and Mattamuskeet (Hyde County). During the early 1780s, two older but weak meetings were laid down. Dunns Creek Friends lost their privilege of holding meetings in 1781; Fredericksburg (South Carolina) Friends lost their monthly meeting in 1782, their preparative meeting in 1783, and their meeting for worship in 1784. Charleston (South Carolina) Monthly Meeting became a part of North Carolina Yearly Meeting in 1787, when it was absorbed by Bush River Monthly Meeting. During the same years, new meetings were created at Marlborough (Randolph County), Deep Creek (Surry County), Nolichucky (Tennessee), Bear Creek (Wayne County), Lower Trent (Jones County), Bull Run (Guilford County), and Henderson's (South Carolina). In 1786 Western Quarter established Westfield Monthly Meeting at Toms Creek which included the meetings at Chestnut Creek (Virginia) and Nolichucky (Tennes-

see). A new monthly meeting was also created at Cane Creek (South Carolina) in 1789. Other new meetings in the late 1780s were Pearson's (later Rocky Spring [South Carolina]), Belews Creek (Surry County), Uwharrie (Randolph County), Lost Creek (Tennessee), Tyson's (Chatham County), Turners Swamp (Wayne County), Mud Lick (South Carolina), Upper Reedy Fork (Guilford County), Upper Trent (Jones County), and Bear Swamp (Northampton County).

The spread of Friends into Tennessee brought some strain on North Carolina Friends. The land in that part of the nation was still owned by Indians, and many of the older settlers remembered that they had moved into the piedmont of North Carolina due to troubles with the Indians at Hopewell, Virginia. New Garden Monthly Meeting decided it could not accept certificates for Friends moving to Nolichucky for that reason. Western Quarterly Meeting debated the issue and decided that each monthly meeting should call its members back from Tennessee. Since the order was never enforced, the Tennessee Friends settlements became stronger. By 1800 two strong monthly meetings had been created, with a quarterly meeting soon to follow.¹⁹

Although the vast majority of North Carolina Friends lived in Western Quarter, it took an act of God to hold yearly meeting there. Friends in Eastern Quarter seemed uneasy with the idea of alternating the location of the yearly meeting, Western Quarter responded in 1784 by recommending a division in the yearly meeting. That proposal was not adopted, but during the intervening year a windstorm destroyed the yearly meetinghouse at Old Neck. Therefore the yearly meeting decided to circulate between the two quarters, beginning in 1787 at Centre.²⁰

Although the 1787 yearly meeting sessions began with some embarrassment for Friends in Western Quarter, they helped to accomplish some important goals. The clerk of yearly meeting, Benjamin Albertson Jr., refused to travel to Centre to preside over the sessions, so the assistant clerk, Levi Munden, was appointed to that post. Munden then found that the clerk of Western Quarter failed to forward the names of the representatives from the quarter in his report. By meeting in the piedmont of North Carolina, Eastern Quarter Friends experienced the long travel and expense that Western Quarter Friends had faced for several years, and they also recognized the magnitude of Quaker settlements in piedmont North Carolina. The yearly meeting approved a request to set off the monthly meetings of New Garden, Deep River, Bush River, Wrightsborough, and Westfield as New Garden

Quarter. (The next year, North Carolina Yearly Meeting approved a fourth quarterly meeting named Contentnea which consisted of Contentnea and Core Sound monthly meetings.)²¹

The Friends concern for the welfare of slaves actually brought unfavorable legislation in the Assembly. A series of Quaker petitions during the 1780s to the Assembly were rejected. The Assembly passed a new act in 1788 which allowed the local authorities to arrest and sell freed slaves. Thirty pounds would be given as a reward to any informant. Just before yearly meeting in 1788, one sheriff sold fifteen freed slaves for a total of £763.14.0. The yearly meeting appointed a committee to consider ways of dealing with the new law. The standing committee at this time was caring for the family of a freed slave who was arrested by the sheriff.²²

As the decade of the 1780s came to a close, Friends in North Carolina found many reasons to believe that the future of the yearly meeting was bright. The minutes of the time have fewer complaints about the “many deficiencies among the members,” and in fact the number of disownments dropped significantly. David Brooks, a member of Deep River Monthly Meeting, followed a concern to visit the disowned members of that monthly meeting to help bring them back into the unity of Friends. Three monthly meetings were taking the first steps toward the establishment of monthly meeting schools (New Garden, Deep River, and Wells). Friends had spread well into Virginia and Tennessee, and meetings were being opened throughout South Carolina as well. There was no indication that the yearly meeting would be severely drained within a generation, which would bring to an end all the meetings in South Carolina, Georgia, and Virginia.²³

Chapter VII

Conclusion

In an article in *William and Mary Quarterly* in 1962, Sydney James described the history of the Society of Friends in colonial America as falling into three eras.¹ These eras can be described as eras of expansion of the faith, reform of the organization, and moving toward a denomination-minded faith. James's thesis is a good framework for examining North Carolina Yearly Meeting during the years 1672 to 1789.

The years of expansion (1672 to 1709) were the years that were dominated by the powerful, Spirit-led ministry that characterized early Friends. There were many travelling ministers throughout this era who visited Albemarle, including George Fox, William Edmundson, Thomas Chalkley, and Thomas Story. Although a few Friends held political office, their main concern in office was to stop the creation of an established church for the colony. The main agenda for Friends was to bring all people who feared God into the Society of Friends; allowing another faith to be established would work against their goal. Once Friends felt they had stopped the movement to establish the Anglican church, they withdrew from government and continued spreading the Gospel so they could unify all dedicated Christians under their organization.

The years of reform (1709 to 1781) cover a lot of developments. As the ministry began to weaken, the era of Quietism began. Friends lost their enthusiasm, and young Friends started leaving the faith. Friends ministers began to preach that the obedient Christians in other faiths would join Friends after a great natural catastrophe shook the Anglican church's foundations. The catastrophe seemed imminent but never came. As a result, a group of reformers was organized to purify Friends of wayward members. They believed that God would not grant Friends their reward while disobedient members existed within the faith, so they urged meetings to increase the disownments of these members. Because the reformers claimed that Friends relied too heavily on their own power rather than God's power, they convinced Friends to give up control of the colony of Pennsylvania and enter

into a spiritual purification throughout the colonies. The reform element was already in control of North Carolina Yearly Meeting when a great southern migration began that brought thousands of northern Quakers into the backcountry of the southern states. These new members of the yearly meeting were also reformers, and they extended their concerns to the eradication of slavery from the Society of Friends, which they finally accomplished. When the American Revolution began, the reformers believed that the catastrophe was coming soon, so they stepped up disownments to keep the faith pure.

As the American Revolution progressed, it became obvious that there would never be a natural catastrophe to bring the “rest” of God’s church into the Society of Friends. Therefore a third era began in which the Quakers began to take the first steps towards denominationalism. The Revolutionary governments passed laws against freeing slaves, refusing to take oaths, and refusing to perform military duty. These laws tended to unify other Christians against Friends rather than draw them into the faith. Friends realized for the first time that there would never be a general conviction. In North Carolina Yearly Meeting, birthright membership was adopted in 1781; this rule meant that Quakerism was somewhat transformed from a faith of believers into a faith of certain families. Quakers gave more attention to benevolent causes; for example, Symons Creek Meeting provided homes for two elderly women, and Cane Creek Meeting helped two blind men. Three monthly meetings were organizing schools, and Eastern Quarter Friends brought slaveholding among Friends to an end.

The Quakers in colonial North Carolina were constantly aware of their differences with other faiths and saw the tension as a battle between worldliness and obedience to God. Because they believed that the Light of Christ was calling all Christians into unity, they felt they had to present a uniform witness to the world by casting off the members who acted disorderly. The emphasis on discipline increased during the 1740s and did not subside until after the Revolution. Since the first disownment in 1700, Friends in North Carolina Yearly Meeting had disowned 859 men and 514 women: 656 for disorderly marriage (47.8 percent), 229 for sexual misconduct (16.7 percent), 141 for violating the peace testimony (10.3 percent), and 101 for drinking (7.4 percent). The monthly meetings had reinstated 231 members (152 men and 79 women), or 16.8 percent of those disowned. Twenty-one members appealed their disownments to quarterly meetings, where seven were reinstated; five of those rejected at the quarterly meeting appealed further to the yearly meeting, where four were reinstated. Half of

Conclusion

those members who appealed their disownments were therefore retained as members.

Although most Friends in 1789 probably saw a bright future ahead, there were two important challenges they faced. The first challenge was regaining their initial enthusiasm. The decline of a strong ministry and the decline of the travelling ministry were major components of the problem. The members expressed their lack of enthusiasm with a lack of commitment to the faith, and the meetings increasingly sent overseers to deal with members. Over time, the overseers would become strict Quaker pharisees who saw disorderly action as offenses against the Discipline rather than offenses against the Holy Spirit. The second challenge for North Carolina Yearly Meeting was the problem of keeping their members at home. The migration to Tennessee was beginning; by 1800, a flood of members would begin to move to Ohio and Indiana. This migration would obliterate the meetings in South Carolina and Georgia, as well as several meetings in North Carolina. Because North Carolina Yearly Meeting did not address these two problems effectively, it began to decline again; by 1850, it was once again the smallest yearly meeting in the world.

Notes

Introduction

¹George Pitt, *Mystic Religion: Described by a Quaker*, Second ed. (Devon, England: Harold Chamness, 1996), i.

²Stephen B. Weeks, *Southern Quakers and Slavery: A Study in Institutional History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1896, hereafter referred to as *SQS*).

³Seth [Bennett] Hinshaw, *The Carolina Quaker Experience, 1665–1985: An Interpretation* (Greensboro: North Carolina Yearly Meeting, North Carolina Friends Historical Society, 1984).

Chapter I: The Beginnings of North Carolina Yearly Meeting of Friends, 1672–1698

¹Haskell Monroe, "Religious Toleration and Politics in Early North Carolina," in *North Carolina Historical Review* (1962), 267–269 (hereafter referred to as *NCHR*); Governor Peter Carteret to the Proprietors, 10–3–1674, in William S. Powell, ed., *Ye Countie of Albemarle in Carolina* (Raleigh: NC Department of Archives and History, 1958), 62–63.

²"Journal of the Life of . . . William Edmundson," in *Friends Library* (Philadelphia: Joseph Rakestraw, 1838), vol. 2, 111; Gwen B. Bjorkman, "Hannah (Baskel) Phelps Phelps Hill: A Quaker Woman and Her Offspring," in *The Southern Friend*, vol. XI, no. 1 (1989), 16–17.

³Edmundson's "Journal" 111–113; *The Works of George Fox* (State College PA: New Foundation Publications, 1990), I:128–129 (hereafter called *Fox's Works*). Francis Toms is the earliest known justice of the peace in North Carolina.

⁴Hugh Barbour and J. William Frost, *The Quakers* (New York City: Greenwood Press, 1988), 67; *Fox's Works*, I:113–142.

⁵*Fox's Works*, I:135–136.

⁶Samuel A. Ashe, *History of North Carolina* (Greensboro: Charles L. Van

Noppen, Publisher, 1908), vol. I, 110–111. The text of the Great Deed of Grant is preserved in the Perquimans County Deed Book volume A, 113–114, certified by Governor Archdale with accompanying documents by Francis Toms and Thomas Harvey.

⁷Edmundson's "Journal," 123–124.

⁸Hugh F. Rankin, *Upheaval in Albemarle: The Story of Culpeper's Rebellion, 1675–1689* (Raleigh: The Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission, 1962), 33–44; William L. Saunders, ed., *Colonial Records of North Carolina* (Raleigh: State Printers, 1890), I:250–251 (hereafter called CRNC).

⁹CRNC, I:250–253.

¹⁰Zora Klain, *Quaker Contributions to Education in North Carolina* (Philadelphia: Westbrook Publishing, 1925), 25.

¹¹Minutes of the quarterly meeting and Perquimans Monthly Meeting, 1680–1684. In Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College. Note: all monthly, quarterly, and yearly meeting minutes and records of the Carolinas and Georgia are in the Friends Historical Collection.

¹²*Ibid*

¹³*Ibid*

¹⁴James Bowden, *The History of the Society of Friends in America* (New York City: Arno Press, 1972 reprint), I:413.

¹⁵Jones, *QAC*, 315.

¹⁶Weeks, *SQS*, 51.

¹⁷Henry G. Hood, *The Public Career of John Archdale (1642–1717)*, (Greensboro, NC: North Carolina Friends Historical Society, 1976), 3; John L. Cheney Jr., ed., *North Carolina Government, 1584–1979* (Raleigh: Office of the Secretary of State, 1979), 12; Mattie E. Parker, "Francis Toms," in *Dictionary of North Carolina Biography* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 39–40.

¹⁸Ashe, I:139; Hood, 3–4.

¹⁹Ashe, I:146.

²⁰Mattie E. Parker, "Daniel Akehurst," in *Dictionary of North Carolina Biography* (Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 1996), vol. 1, 9–10; *North Carolina Higher Court Records 1670–1696* (Raleigh: North Carolina Department of Archives and History, 1968), xxiii.

²¹*North Carolina Higher Court Records*, vol. I, 143–144.

²²Ashe, I:146–147; Hood, 9, 26; *NC Higher Court Records*, I:xxiii; Parker, “Toms,” 39–40.

²³Quarterly meeting and Perquimans Monthly Meeting minutes, 1689–1693. The first recorded monthly meeting at Henry White’s house was on 9–5–1696.

²⁴Perquimans Monthly Meeting, 4–6–1694 and 12–5–1695.

²⁵Quarterly meeting minutes, 1–7–1695 and 3–1–1695.

²⁶*Ibid.*, 4–6–1696. Robert Wilson died about the time that the decision was made. His will was witnessed by Governor Archdale, Daniel Akehurst, and Francis Toms.

²⁷*Ibid.*, 4–4–1698.

²⁸Pasquotank Monthly Meeting, 6–4–1698; Weeks, *SQS*, 63–64.

Chapter II: Friends and Politics, 1698–1708

¹Weeks, *SQS*, 66; Beth G. Crabtree, *North Carolina Governors, 1585–1974* (Raleigh: NC, Department of Archives and History, 1974), 20; Ashe, I:150; Walter P. Wood, “The Albemarle in 1672–1705,” in *Pasquotank Historical Society Year Book*, 1956–1957, 19–20.

²Elizabeth H. Davidson, “The Establishment of the English Church in Continental American Colonies,” in *Historical Papers of the Trinity College Historical Society* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1936), 49.

³Stephen B. Weeks, *The Religious Development in the Province of North Carolina* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1892), 34 (hereafter referred to as Weeks, *Religious Development*); Weeks, *SQS*, 66; Cheney, 14. It is important to note that only two of the six councilors during the terms of Governors Archdale and Harvey were Friends, not a majority as is often suggested by Friends historians.

⁴Weeks, *Religious Development*, 34; Henderson Walker to the Bishop of London, 8–21–1703, in *CRNC*, I:571.

⁵Weeks, *Religious Development*, 36; William Gordon to the Secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, 3–13–1709, in *CRNC*, I:709.

⁶Weeks, *Religious Development*, 36; *CRNC*, I:560.

⁷Quarterly meeting minutes, 4–29–1700 and 10–28–1700; Pasquotank Monthly Meeting, 4–1–1699. Bush was probably disowned for being baptized by Brett.

⁸Pasquotank Monthly Meeting, 5–2–1702; *CRNC*, I:560; Perquimans Monthly

Meeting, 1–2–1702/3 and a table of Friends' sufferings for 1702–1703.

⁹Weeks, *SQS*, 73–74; Edgar L. Pennington, *The Church of England and the Reverend Clement Hall in Colonial North Carolina* (Hartford CT: Church Missions Publishing Co., 1937), 16–17.

¹⁰Cheney, 28–29; Walker to the Bishop of London, *CRNC*, I:571–572. The Friends in this Assembly were Caleb Bundy, Augustine Scarborough, Thomas Symons, Jeremiah Symons, and Thomas Pearce from Pasquotank; and Caleb Calloway, Timothy Clare, Gabriel Newby, Samuel Nicholson, and Isaac Wilson from Perquimans.

¹¹Pennington, 17–18; Joseph B. Cheshire Jr., “The Church in the Province of North Carolina,” in *Sketches of Church History in North Carolina: Addresses and Papers by Clergymen and Laymen of the Dioceses of North and East Carolina* (Wilmington: William L. De Rossett Jr. Publishers, 1892), 52–53; and Weeks, *Religious Development*, 42.

¹²Weeks, *SQS*, 161; epistle of the quarterly meeting to London, 1–31–1706, in the Book of Epistles Received, London Yearly Meeting; Walter P. Wood, “Neglected Records,” in *Pasquotank Historical Society Year Book, 1956–1957*, 47. Some historians (such as Weeks and White) believed that the Assembly passed a new vestry act in 1704 once Daniel removed the Quaker members, but none of the contemporary documents mention any such act.

¹³Philadelphia Yearly Meeting Discipline of 1704. Some of the more interesting behaviors which might lead to disownment were: not educating children in reading “ye holy Scriptures;” making clothes which were not plain, and attending a marriage conducted according to the ways of the Anglican church.

¹⁴Pasquotank and Perquimans monthly meetings, 1702–1706.

¹⁵Pasquotank Monthly Meeting, 4–1–1704; 11–4–1704; 12–1–1704; 1–1–1704/5.

¹⁶Walter P. Wood, “The Albemarle in 1672–1705,” 19–20; Ashe, I:160; Cheney. 14.

¹⁷Address to the Queen of England, 8–3–1705, in the Perquimans Monthly Meeting book.

¹⁸Davidson, 50–51; William Gordon to the SPG secretary, 3–13–1709, in *CRNC*, I:708–715; William Glover to the Bishop of London, in *CRNC*, I:689.

¹⁹Stephen J. White, “From the Vestry Act to Cary’s Rebellion: North Carolina Quakers and Colonial Politics,” in *The Southern Friend*, vol. VIII, no. 2 (1986), 9; quarterly meeting epistle to London, 1–31–1706.

²⁰Henley accused Bogue in Perquimans Monthly Meeting, 5–3–1706; they were disowned 8–2–1706. Bogue was reinstated on 12–23–1707/8.

²¹Pasquotank Monthly Meeting, 11–2–1706/7.

²²Ashe, I:164; *CRNC*, I:714; an *Epistle of London Yearly Meeting to Perquimans Monthly Meeting*, 1–13–1706/7; a table of sufferings of 1707 in Perquimans Monthly Meeting book; and the 1707 *Epistle of North Carolina Yearly Meeting to London Yearly Meeting*.

²³Ashe, I:166; Cheney, 29; *CRNC*, I:687.

²⁴This scene was described by Thomas Pollock, *CRNC*, I:699.

²⁵Ashe, I:166–167; Cheney, 15, 29; *CRNC*, I:721.

²⁶Pasquotank Monthly Meeting, 11–12–1709/10; Cheney, 29.

²⁷Cheshire, 59; Cheney, 29.

²⁸White, 17–20.

Chapter III: The Beginnings of Quietism, 1708–1740

¹In all other yearly meetings, quarterly meetings met four times each year and appointed the representatives to yearly meeting. The half quarterly meeting was established at quarterly meeting on 10–29–1707 and was laid down by the same meeting on 4–27–1710.

²The difference was first presented to Perquimans Monthly Meeting on 4–2–1708, and the quarterly meeting heard the referral on 4–26–1708. Yearly meeting met on 8–4–1708, when Newby was replaced. Among the members who had differences with Newby from time to time were Francis and Mary Toms, Isaac and Ann Wilson, and Francis Wells. Wells, for example, said Newby's ministry was "wholly dead" (*NCYM*, 1709). William Everigin had the foresight to purchase a minute book for the yearly meeting; it cost £0.10.6 (Perquimans Monthly Meeting minutes, 4–3–1709). None of the minutes taken during Newby's term as clerk exists today.

³Pasquotank Monthly Meeting, 5–8–1708 and 7–9–1708; yearly meeting of 1708.

⁴Yearly meeting of 1708.

⁵Yearly meetings of 1708–1711.

⁶The Queries were answered in order in the quarterly meeting several times in 1717, and the reconstructed Queries are based on these answers. The Queries were first mentioned at the 1710 yearly meeting.

⁷Quarterly meeting of 10–29–1716. The text has been modernized for

ease of understanding.

⁸Quarterly meeting of 10-29-1707; Pasquotank Monthly Meeting minutes, 1710-1730 *passim*.

⁹Pasquotank Monthly Meeting decided to disown Jeremiah on 1-10-1708/9, when the Friend intervened. The paper of denial was written at monthly meeting on 5-14-1709, but he appeared and condemned his misconduct on 8-13-1709. The case was renewed on 2-23-1710, and Clerk Everigin made his offer on 2-19-1711. Jeremiah was disowned on 8-18-1711.

¹⁰Quarterly meeting of 4-27-1710; North Carolina Yearly Meeting of 1711; Perquimans Monthly Meeting, 10th month 1712.

¹¹Core Sound Monthly Meeting of 4-12-1762. Core Sound was the only monthly meeting which regularly recorded the papers of denial against members during the colonial era.

¹²Perquimans Monthly Meeting of 6-1-1711.

¹³Steven J. White, "The Peace Witness of North Carolina Quakers During the Colonial Wars," in *The Southern Friend*, vol. 5, no. 1 (1983), 14-16; Pasquotank Monthly Meeting of 8-18-1711.

¹⁴Luther L. Gobbel, "Militia in North Carolina in Colonial and Revolutionary Times," in *Historical Papers of the Trinity College Historical Society* (Series 13), 43-44; North Carolina Yearly Meeting of 1712; Pasquotank Monthly Meeting of 4-17-1713; quarterly meeting minutes, 4-27-1713.

¹⁵Gobbel, 43; Perquimans Monthly Meeting, 9-4-1712; Pasquotank Monthly Meeting, 5-15-1714 and 12-17-1714.

¹⁶CRNC, 2:884; Gobbel, 36.

¹⁷Quarterly meeting of 4-25-1715; North Carolina Yearly Meeting of 1715.

¹⁸Perquimans Monthly Meeting, 8-3-1705; Pasquotank Monthly Meeting (men's), 5-19-1711; Pasquotank Monthly Meeting (women's), 10-15-1715; quarterly meeting (women's), 10-31-1715.

¹⁹Core Sound Monthly Meeting, 1782.

²⁰Undated address from Perquimans Monthly Meeting (men's) to the women's monthly meeting and minutes of 12-2-1714; Pasquotank Monthly Meeting (women's), 1715-1725.

²¹Symons was appointed quarterly meeting clerk in 1707 and overseer in 1714; he served as clerk of the yearly meeting from 1716 to 1724. Symons minutes are distinct from those of other clerks, because he tended to

separate words in his sentences by periods rather than spaces.

²²Pasquotank Monthly Meeting of 2–19–1716; Perquimans Monthly Meeting, 2–3–1717, 10–4–1717, 6–7–1723, and 6–5–1724.

²³Perquimans Monthly Meeting, 12–1–1707/8, 2–7–1708; North Carolina Yearly Meeting, 1721; Pasquotank Monthly Meeting of 1–20–1717/8.

²⁴Quarterly meeting of 4–27–1724; Perquimans Monthly Meeting of 1–5–1711/2; Pasquotank Monthly Meeting of 3–19–1720, 6–18–1720, and 7–17–1719.

²⁵Quarterly meeting of 1–29–1717/8.

²⁶Perquimans Monthly Meeting, 1–6–1722/3; North Carolina Yearly Meeting of 1718.

²⁷Perquimans Monthly Meeting, 2–6–1720 and 2–2–1722; Pasquotank Monthly Meeting, 6–18–1715; and North Carolina Yearly Meeting of 1717. Another rule required widows or widowers to wait one year after the death of the spouse before announcing intentions of second marriage. This rule was adopted by Perquimans Monthly Meeting on 8–11–1702. Pasquotank amended its rule in 1709 because a marriage which satisfied its restrictions did not satisfy the restrictions of Perquimans.

²⁸Charles C. Crittenden, "Surrender of the Charter of Carolina," in *NCHR* (1924), 395.

²⁹Jessop signed the minutes in 1727 only as "T. J. Cl," an abbreviation of "Thomas Jessop, Clerk." Perquimans Monthly Meeting, 9–3–1725, 10–1–1725, 5th mo. 1726, 12–5–1728/9, and 10–6–1727; Pasquotank Monthly Meeting of 5–7–1726.

³⁰Pasquotank Monthly Meeting, 1725–1727.

³¹*Ibid.*, 1731; quarterly meeting of 4–27–1730 and 1–28–1730/1.

³²Core Sound Monthly Meeting, 11–23–1736 and 1st mo. 1737; Pasquotank Monthly Meeting, 7–2–1736.

³³Quarterly meeting of 4–25–1737; White, "Peace Witness," 18; Weeks, *SQS*, 173; Perquimans Monthly Meeting, 3–7–1740.

³⁴Pasquotank Monthly Meeting, 6–4–1737 and quarterly meeting, 10–30–1738.

³⁵Quarterly meeting of 4–30–1739; North Carolina Yearly Meeting, 1740; Pasquotank Monthly Meeting, 11–3–1739 and 2–3–1740; and Perquimans Monthly Meeting, 3–7–1740.

Chapter IV: Joseph Robinson, Clerk, 1741–1760

¹Pasquotank, Perquimans, and Core Sound monthly meetings minutes, 1736–1740.

²Quarterly meeting, 9–26–1743 and 9–24–1744; yearly meetings of 1745–1747.

³North Carolina Yearly Meeting of 1748.

⁴Perquimans Monthly Meeting, 2–4–1744, 4–5–1751, and 8–5–1752; Pasquotank Monthly Meeting, 10–5–1745.

⁵North Carolina Yearly Meeting of 1750.

⁶Jones, *QAC*, 297.

⁷Quarterly meeting minutes, 6–31–1751.

⁸Quarterly meeting of ministers and elders, 7–1–1751.

⁹North Carolina Yearly Meeting of 1751.

¹⁰Cane Creek and New Garden Monthly Meetings, 1751–1758.

¹¹As an example of the structure of the Friends in western North Carolina, Springfield Friends were indulged in 1753, established in 1773, granted a preparative meeting in 1785, and granted a monthly meeting in 1790.

¹²Quarterly meeting of 2–21–1753; Perquimans Monthly Meeting, 8–6–1755.

¹³Joshua L. McKaughan, “People of Desperate Fortune: Settlers in the North Carolina Backcountry and Their World, 1753–1778,” UNCG master’s thesis, 1990, 5–23.

¹⁴Jack D. Marietta, *The Reformation of American Quakerism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984), 40–42.

¹⁵North Carolina Yearly Meeting Discipline of 1755, 2; quarterly meeting minutes, 5–31–1755, 8–30–1755, and 11–27–1755; North Carolina Yearly Meeting of 1755.

¹⁶North Carolina Yearly Meeting Discipline of 1755.

¹⁷These excerpts came from the 1719 edition of the Discipline of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting.

¹⁸There is no mention of the women’s yearly meeting in any of the extant minutes, including the minutes of the women’s quarterly meeting, between the 1720s and 1758.

¹⁹North Carolina Yearly Meeting of 1758; Pasquotank Monthly Meeting, 11–7–1747 and 12–6–1752; Perquimans Monthly Meeting, 1–7–1756

and 3–5–1760; quarterly meeting, 2–23–1760.

²⁰North Carolina Yearly Meetings of 1752 and 1759; Perquimans Monthly Meeting of 7–2–1755, 4–4–1759, 5–2–1759, 12–5–1759, 1–2–1760, and 2–6–1760.

²¹Clement Hall to the SPG secretary, in *CRNC*, 4:753; Pasquotank Monthly Meeting, 2–6–1755; Perquimans Monthly Meeting, 8th mo. 1756; and North Carolina Yearly Meeting, 1756–1760.

²²White, “Peace Witness,” 18; North Carolina Yearly Meetings of 1757–1759; Pasquotank Monthly Meeting, 11–3–1757; standing committee minutes, 11–25–1758; Cane Creek Monthly Meeting, 1759; Gobbel, 40.

²³Perquimans Monthly Meeting, 6–2–1738; North Carolina Yearly Meeting, 1740 and 1757–1760; Jones, *QAC*, 322–324; Pasquotank Monthly Meeting, 6–2–1757; quarterly meeting, 2–25–1758.

²⁴Perquimans Monthly Meeting, 4–7–1756, 9–1–1756, 12–1–1756, 8–3–1757, 2–25–1758, 5–3–1758, 10–4–1758, and 11–1–1758.

²⁵Pasquotank Monthly Meeting, 9–1–1757; Core Sound Monthly Meeting, 7–7–1757.

²⁶Quarterly meeting of 8–26–1758 and 5–31–1760; North Carolina Yearly Meeting of 1759.

²⁷Monthly meeting minutes, 1741–1760.

Chapter V: Regulators, Slavery, and Expansion, 1761–1775

¹Western Quarterly Meeting, 2–14–1761 and 8–8–1761; New Garden Monthly Meeting, 2–28–1761; Perquimans Monthly Meeting, 5–5–1761; Eastern Quarterly Meeting, 5–30–1761; and North Carolina Yearly Meeting, 1761–1762.

²Core Sound Monthly Meeting, 1–28–1761; North Carolina Yearly Meeting, 1762–1765.

³Monthly meeting minutes, 1761–1765. Because none of the preparative meeting minutes for these years survive, there is no way to ascertain the number of complaints.

⁴New Garden Monthly Meeting, 6–26–1762, 1st mo. 1764, 2–23–1765, and 3d mo. 1765; Symons Creek Monthly Meeting, 9th mo. 1764.

⁵Western Quarterly Meeting, 5–12–1764.

⁶*Ibid.*, 1761–1765.

⁷Weeks, *SQS*, 179; Western Quarterly Meeting, 11th mo. 1762, 2–12–1763, and 5–14–1763.

⁸Weeks, *SQS*, 179–181; Western Quarterly Meeting, 11–12–1763 and 2–11–1764; Cane Creek Monthly Meeting, 1–7–1764; North Carolina Yearly Meetings of 1764–1766.

⁹Western Quarterly Meeting, 2–9–1765 and 5–10–1766; North Carolina Yearly Meeting of 1765; Cane Creek Monthly Meeting (men's), 2–7–1767; Cane Creek Monthly Meeting (women's), 2–1–1766, 10–4–1766, and 2–7–1767.

¹⁰Western Quarterly Meeting, 11–10–1764, 5–9–1767 and 5–14–1768; North Carolina Yearly Meetings of 1767–1768; Cane Creek Monthly Meeting (women's), 11–1–1766 and 6–6–1767; and Cane Creek Monthly Meeting (men's), 12–6–1766.

¹¹New Garden Monthly Meeting, 2–25–1764 and 3–31–1764.

¹²North Carolina Yearly Meetings of 1764–1765; standing committee minutes, 5–25–1765.

¹³Minutes of the monthly meetings, 1766–1770.

¹⁴Rich Square Monthly Meeting, 5th mo. 1767 to 12th mo. 1769; Symons Creek Monthly Meeting, 8th mo. 1767.

¹⁵Symons Creek Monthly Meeting, 10th and 11th mos. 1768.

¹⁶Steven J. White, "Friends and the Coming of the Revolution," in *The Southern Friend*, vol. 4, no. 1 (1982), 17; McKaughan, 15–33.

¹⁷Cane Creek Monthly Meeting, 11–5–1768 and 4–1–1769; New Garden Monthly Meeting, 6–25–1768 and 2d mo. 1769.

¹⁸Ashe, I:342–375; Cane Creek Monthly Meeting, 6–1–1771 and 9–7–1771. In the minutes, the clerk did not state the cause for complaint against the sixteen men Friends who were disowned on 6–1–1771, but one who later was reinstated condemned his joining the Regulators. Two men Friends at New Garden were also disowned during 1771 for aiding the Regulators.

¹⁹Gobbel, 42; Rich Square Monthly Meeting, 12–21–1771, 1–18–1772, and 9–19–1772.

²⁰Hiram H. Hilty, *Toward Freedom for All* (Richmond IN: Friends United Press, 1984), 19–20; North Carolina Yearly Meetings of 1763 and 1768.

²¹New Garden Monthly Meeting, 7–29–1769; Western Quarterly Meeting, 8–12–1769; North Carolina Yearly Meeting of 1769; Kenneth L. Carroll, "East–West Relations in North Carolina Yearly Meeting, 1750–1785," in *The South-*

ern Friend, vol. 4, no. 2 (1982), 21–22.

²²North Carolina Yearly Meetings, 1770 to 1772; Western Quarterly Meeting, 8–10–1771; standing committee minutes, 7–11–1772.

²³North Carolina Yearly Meetings of 1773 to 1775; Wells Monthly Meeting, 12th mo. 1773; Western Quarterly Meeting, 8–12–1775.

²⁴Symons Creek Monthly Meeting, 5–15–1776; North Carolina Yearly meeting of 1776.

²⁵Western Quarterly Meeting, 2–13–1768 and 11–10–1770; Bush River Monthly Meeting minutes, 1772–1774.

²⁶Weeks, *SQS*, 118–119; Western Quarterly Meeting, 5–8 and 11–13–1773.

²⁷Minutes of the monthly meetings, 1767–1771.

²⁸Minutes of the monthly meetings, 1771–1775.

²⁹Weeks, *SQS*, 107–108; New Garden Monthly Meeting minutes, 2–26–1774.

³⁰Rich Square Monthly Meeting, 5–20–1775; Wells Monthly Meeting, 7th mo. 1775; Symons Creek Monthly Meeting, 8th mo. 1775; Bush River Monthly Meeting, 9th mo. 1775; and Wrightsborough Monthly Meeting, 11–4–1775.

Chapter VI: The American Revolution and Aftermath, 1776–1789

¹*CRNC*, 4:855–857; Western Quarterly Meeting, 2–8–1777; standing committee minutes, 1–13–1776; North Carolina Yearly Meeting of 1779.

²Symons Creek Monthly Meeting, 1776–1777; North Carolina Yearly Meeting of 1777.

³Weeks, *SQS*, 191, 209; Walter Clark, ed., *State Records of North Carolina* (Raleigh: State Printers, 1890–1896), 24:117 (hereafter referred to as *SRNC*).

⁴North Carolina Yearly Meetings of 1777 and 1778.

⁵*Ibid.*, 1776 and 1777.

⁶New Garden Monthly Meeting, 9–27–1777 and 3–28–1778.

⁷*SRNC*, 13:415, 12:640, and 24:204, 221–222.

⁸Western Quarterly Meeting of 2–14–1778; North Carolina Yearly Meeting of 1778.

⁹Wrightsborough Monthly Meeting, 6–6–1778; Wells Monthly Meeting, 5–5–1779 and 7–7–1779; Symons Creek Monthly Meeting, 12th mo. 1778

to 7th mo. 1779; New Garden Monthly Meeting, 12–25–1779; Deep River Monthly Meeting, 2d mo. 1780 to 12th mo. 1780.

¹⁰Monthly meeting minutes, 1776–1780.

¹¹*Ibid.*

¹²Core Sound Monthly Meeting, 3–8–1780; Wells Monthly Meeting, 4–5–1780 and 12–6–1780; *SRNC*, 24:281–282, 318, 329, and 344–345; North Carolina Yearly Meeting of 1779; standing committee, 3–25–1780.

¹³North Carolina Yearly Meetings of 1779 and 1780; Western Quarterly Meeting, 11–13–1779.

¹⁴North Carolina Yearly Meetings of 1779 to 1781; Wrightsborough Monthly Meeting, 2–6–1779; Wells Monthly Meeting, 5–2–1781, 6–6–1781, and 8–1–1781; Weeks, *SQS*, 190.

¹⁵Deep River Monthly Meeting, 1st mo. 1781; New Garden Monthly Meeting, 5th and 8th mos. 1782; North Carolina Yearly Meetings of 1780–1782; Symons Creek Monthly Meeting, 5–15–1782; Wells Monthly Meeting, 8–7–1782; *SRNC*, 19:31.

¹⁶North Carolina Yearly Meeting of 1781.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, 1781–1783.

¹⁸Monthly meeting minutes, 1781–1785.

¹⁹New Garden Monthly Meeting, 4–24–1784; Western Quarterly Meeting 11–10–1788; Dorothy Gilbert Thorne, "The Quaker Migration to the Western Waters," in *The Southern Friend*, vol. 4, no 1 (1982), 3–15.

²⁰Western Quarterly Meeting, 8–14–1784; North Carolina Yearly Meetings of 1784–1786.

²¹North Carolina Yearly Meetings of 1787–1788.

²²Standing committee, 11–29–1784; *SRNC*, 24:964; D.L. Corbitt, "Historical Notes," in *NCHR* (1924), 449; North Carolina Yearly Meeting of 1788.

²³Deep River Monthly Meeting, 1–7–1782, 11–1–1784, and 4–5–1784; New Garden Monthly Meeting, 3–27–1784 and 12–31–1785; Wells Monthly Meeting, 1–3–1787; and Cane Creek Monthly Meeting, 4–5–1784.

Chapter VII: Conclusion

¹Sydney V. James. "The Impact of the American Revolution on Quakers' Ideas About Their Sect," in *William and Mary Quarterly*, Third series, vol. XIX, no. 3, July 1962.

Book Review

Max L. Carter. *Minutiae of the Meeting: Essays on Quaker Connections*. Greensboro: Guilford College, 1999. 127 pages. Illustrations. \$10.00, softbound.

Published in 1999, *Minutiae of the Meeting*, by Max L. Carter has already gained widespread distribution and recognition among Friends and friends of Friends. A treat is in store for those readers of *The Southern Friend* who have not yet discovered this unusual and informative book.

In his introduction Carter states that the collection of essays is a “light-hearted” look at Quaker history. The essays had their origin in weekly memos to students at Guilford College in the Quaker Leadership Scholars Program (QLSP). Each essay begins with a news item, found in local newspapers or other media sources, as a jumping off point for making a Quaker “connection.” Some of the items come from the *News and Record*, the Greensboro, NC newspaper. Others Carter gleaned from news items in England during his sabbatical year in Britain in 1998–99.

Each “connection” is a fascinating vignette on Quaker involvement in society, including business, education, sports, the arts and government. Even crime is not left out as connections with infamous criminals are explored. (See the essay “With Friends Like These —”). However, the bulk of the connections are considerably more lofty than this example!

Historical lore from “our side of the pond” includes “Pinning Things on Quakers” — did you know that the inventor of the safety pin was the American Quaker Walter Hunt and the inventor of the bottle cap was Baltimore Quaker Robert Painter? — and “Quakers Get Framed” with references to American Quaker artists from Edward Hicks of “Peaceable Kingdom” fame to Sylvia Shaw Judson’s lovely book, *A Quiet Eye*, to Signe Wilkinson’s caustic contemporary editorial cartoons. From the “other side of the pond” come “Having a Mean Time at Greenwich” — the Royal Greenwich Observatory’s first clocks were made by Quaker Thomas Tompion, the

“father of English watchmaking” — and “The Darbys of Coalbrookdale,” a short account of the iron foundries begun by the Abraham Darbys I, II, and III. The Darbys were responsible for the building of the world’s first iron bridge. To pique your interest in others examples of “minutiae” see the essays called “Six Degrees of Quakerism,” or “Friends Have Gone to Pot(tery)”!

All in all, there are fifty-six essays, each complete with an anecdotal media quote followed by lively descriptions of historical facts and events in the life of the Religious Society of Friends. A pattern of Quaker activity emerges that is enormously varied and creative. Friends have been involved in banking, business, farming, education, inventions, science, sports, the arts and architecture to mention only a smattering of “connections.” The reader also becomes aware of the range of social justice and reform issues that Friends have stood for across the centuries of our existence. That list would include concerns for poverty reforms, education at all levels including worker education, opposition to the death penalty, and women’s rights. Perhaps a distinguishing feature of Carter’s book is the scope of activity that is described. While readers of Quaker history are often familiar with Friends’ traditional social concerns, an acquaintance with the practical inventiveness of Friends is perhaps not so common. This book is rich in examples of daily creativity that is part of George Fox’s admonition to make education serve “all things civil and useful.” Taken all together, the essays in Carter’s book are inspiring in their depth of conviction and inventiveness to better the human condition.

Each essay concludes with a reference for further reading, a nice addition for those readers who want to explore a particular subject in greater depth.

Carter has dedicated his book to the nearly one hundred students who have graduated from or are presently in the Quaker Leadership Scholars Program at Guilford College. QLSP has gained national attention among Quaker educators for its model program of leadership development for young adults. Quaker students from around the country, representing all branches of Quakerism, come to Guilford to participate in this program. In addition to their academic work, QLSP students embark on a four-year program in Quaker leadership. Internships, seminars, field trips, service projects, and contacts with Quaker organizations are all part of the program designed to support future commitment and involvement among Friends. Of these students Carter says, “their enthusiasm for the Religious Society of Friends is contagious and gives me enormous hope for the future of the Quaker movement.” Perhaps in the years ahead the lives of these Young

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Friends will be found in future editions of *Minutiae of the Meeting*.

Max Carter is director of Friends Center, campus ministry coordinator, and adjunct professor of religious studies at Guilford College. In *Minutiae of the Meeting* Carter has given us a fond and authentic look at Quaker “connections” over its three and a half centuries of history. This is a delightful book to read, to keep in one’s own library, or to share with friends and relatives. All proceed from book sales go to support QLSP, campus ministry, and other programs of Friends Center at Guilford College.

Judith W. Harvey*
Greensboro, NC

*Judith Harvey was director of Quaker programs and Friends Center at Guilford College from 1978–1993.

Brief Notices

***Index to Hinshaw's Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy.* Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1999. 1,119 pp. Softbound. \$95.00 plus \$3.50 postage and handling per book.**

At last, an every-name index for the six volumes of the monumental compendium of births, deaths, marriages, and membership information from the surviving records of Quakers in the Carolinas, Georgia, Tennessee, New Jersey, Virginia, Ohio, and parts of New York and Pennsylvania. In one volume, in a single alphabetical sequence, are the 600,000 names found in the *Encyclopedia*. Each entry includes the surname, given name, and the volume and page numbers wherein the name can be found. Order from the publisher at 1001 N. Calvert St., Baltimore, MD 21202-3897.

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Wilbert L. Braxton. *William Braxton, Planter and His Descendants*. Gwynedd, PA: by the author, 1999. Various pagings. Illustrations. Spiralbound.

A collection of brief monographs giving the history and genealogy of Braxton ancestors of the author, including William Brax(t)on, Planter (d. 1772) of Orange, Chatham, and Alamance counties, North Carolina; Thomas Braxton (1745-1815); John Braxton (1782-1860) and the third generation of Piedmont Braxtons; and Mary Ann Braxton (1836-1920). Also includes "Summary of a Study Made of Old Accounts Books 1818-1855," and letters of the Braxton family during and after the Civil War. Documentation is plentifully supplied. Costs for the purchase and mailing of the book have been covered by a generous donation from a family friend. Copies are available from the Friends Historical Collection, Hege Library, Guilford College, 5800 W. Friendly Ave., Greensboro, NC 27410.

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The Southern Friend

Dorothy Irene Teague Pollet, compiler, with the assistance of Theodore Edison Perkins. *Teagues, Hocketts, and Allied Families*. Greensboro, NC: by the authors, 2000. Charts, illustrations, maps. 225, [17] pp. \$50.00 plus \$5.00 for shipping.

Genealogies of the families include detailed charts, news articles, maps, and memorabilia. Order from Theodore E. Perkins, Friends Homes at Guilford, 925 New Garden Road, Apt. 1201, Greensboro, NC 27410. Tel. (336) 852-6883.

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